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Rhetoric and Rhythm in Byzantine Homilies

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Rhetoric and Rhythm in Byzantine Homilies

by

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Rhetoric and Rhythm in Byzantine Homilies

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My dissertation seeks to bring more attention to speech patterns and rhythm in oratory – issues that have long been on the fringes of rhetoric scholars' concerns – by arguing that prose rhythm in Byzantine and Old Slavic sermons was an important tool not only in creating an overall aesthetic experience but also in promoting shared meaning and individual persuasion.

The first chapter offers a comparison between the clauses of early to middle Byzantine homilies and their translations into Old Church Slavonic, within a corpus of texts contained in the late tenth-century Codex Suprasliensis. The comparison shows a remarkable correspondence between the number of syllables and accents per clause in both languages. I conclude that the Slavonic translators strove not only to provide literal translations, but also to preserve the rhythmical patterns of the original homilies. The second chapter explores the classical and late antique theoretical underpinnings of rhythm in general and prose rhythm in particular and argues that in late antiquity there was a strong tradition of differentiation between rhythm and meter. Prose rhythm was considered the domain of the *rhythmicians* (not *metricians*)

and defined by word arrangement and cadence. I argue that the word and its main accent were perceived as the basic unit of prose rhythm – in addition to *clausular* cadence, which so far has been considered the main carrier of rhythm. Thus homiletic prose rhythm resembles the accentual rhythms of Byzantine liturgical poetry. Chapter 3 examines Byzantine rhetorical commentaries and *scholia* on classical literature and concludes that the Byzantine teachers taught accentual rhythm by looking for regular *accentual* patterns in classical Greek texts and pointing them out to their students, who in turn internalized and reproduced them in their own compositions. My last chapter argues that the same principles were found in the first Slavonic translations of Greek homilies. I conclude that the persistent recurrence of similar rhythmical patterns, even across national and linguistic boundaries, may lead us to think of rhythm as a meaning-bearing component of oratory.

Contents

Introduction: Rhetorical Theory, Rhythm, and the (Awkward) Problem of Style

"The speech of those who do not form their sentences with a rhythmical cadence," says Cicero in *Orator*, "seems to resemble the movements of those whom the Greeks call *apalaistrous*, or 'untrained in gymnastics,' and it is far from being true that – as those are wont to say who, from lack of teachers, or slowness of wit, or shirking from hard work, have failed of success – careful arrangement of words enfeebles speech: on the contrary, without this it can possess no force or vigor."[1] Again, when analyzing a particularly well-wrought sentence in a speech by the tribune Gaius Carbo the younger, Cicero says that "it was marvelous what a shout arose from the crowd" at the sound of his closing rhythm.[2]

It is not difficult to perceive how much importance Cicero attributes to rhythm. He speaks of it as part of the life force of oratory and devotes about a third of his treatise *Orator*, where he sets out to paint a picture of the perfect speaker, to a discussion of its intricacies. "I have often seen the whole assembly burst into a cheer," he says, "in response to a happy cadence. For the ear expects the words to

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[1] Cicero, *Orator* 229 (trans. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), 501): Itaque qualis eorum motus quos *ἀπαλαίστρους* Graeci vocant, talis horum mihi videtur oratio qui non claudunt numeris sententias, tantumque abest ut – quod ei qui hoc aut magistrorum inopia aut ingeni tarditate aut laboris fuga non sunt assecuti solent dicere – enervetur oratio compositione verborum, ut aliter in ea nec impetus ullus nec vis esse possit.

[2] *Orator* 214 (*ibid.*, 487): tantus clamor contionis excitatus est, ut admirabile esset.

bind the sentence together."[3] Rhythm, he contends, is naturally in the ear;[4] but good rhythm is something that the best of orators attain with much toil, yet even the worst of audiences are able to judge accurately.[5]

Cicero is certainly not alone in recognizing the importance of rhythm in oratorical discourse. The first extant systematic – although rather sketchy – treatment of prose rhythm belongs to Aristotle. In Book 3 of the *Rhetoric* he recommends that "the form of prose composition [be] neither metrical nor destitute of rhythm," because a highly regular, metrical rhythm – as in poetry – makes prose seem contrived and destroys the hearer's trust, while "unrhythmical language is too unlimited, …and the effect [is] vague and unsatisfactory."[6] Aristotle explains rhythm in terms of mathematical proportion: the most popular poetic meters, such as the dactyl, the iamb, and the trochee, he says, have a time ratio of 1:1 (one long to two short syllables, that is, four time lengths) and 2:1 (one long to one short syllable, that is, three time lengths); therefore, a ratio of 3:2, which is between those two (that is,

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[3] *Orator* 168 (*ibid.*, 447): Contiones saepe exclamare vidi, cum apte verba cecidissent. Id enim exspectant aures, ut verbis colligetur sentential.

[4] *Orator* 178 (*ibid.*, 457): Aures ipsae enim vel animus aurium nuntio naturalem quondam in se continent vocum omnium mensionem.

[5] *Orator* 173 (*ibid.*, 453): In versu quidem theatra tota exclamant, si fuit una syllaba aut brevior aut longior; nec vero multitudo pedes novit nec ullos numeros tenet nec illud quod offendit aut cur aut in quo offendat intellegit; et tamen omnium longitudinum et brevitatum in sonis sicut acutarum gravimque vocum iudicum ipsa natura in auribus nostris collocavit.

[6] Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1408b (trans. W. Rhys Roberts (New York: Random House, 1954), 180): *Τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως δεῖ μήτε ἔμμετρον εἶναι μήτε ἄρρυθμον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπίθανον (πεπλάσθαι γὰρ δοκεῖ), καὶ ἅμα καὶ ἐξίστησι. [...] τὸ δὲ ἄρρυθμον ἀπέραντον, δεῖ δὲ πεπεράνθαι μέν, μὴ μέτρῳ δέ· ἀηδὲς γὰρ καὶ ἄγνωστον τὸ ἄπειρον.*

the paeon, which has one long to three short syllables, or five time lengths), is most suitable for prose, since its rhythm is not encountered in poetry or readily perceived by the ear.[7] Aristotle's reference, of course, is the poetic principle of ancient Greek poetry, which is based not on stress accent – as in modern English – but on syllable length, where a long syllable is assumed to be roughly twice the duration of a short syllable.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing around the end of the first century AD, puts forth a different explanation of the rhythmical qualities of prose. For him, the rhythm of prose differs from that of poetry only in degree, not kind. Poetic grace, he contends, is not reserved solely for poetry; good prose should partake of both the vocabulary and rhythms of poetry, if it is to give any pleasure. Thus, well-crafted prose is infused with poetic feet of all sorts; the only difference is that it is not manifestly metrical or rhythmical.[8] Dionysius devotes two full chapters[9] to arguing the point that prose and poetry are nearly convertible into each other; good prose

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[7] *Rhetoric* 1408b-1409a (*ibid.,* 180-81): *ἔστι δὲ τρίτος ὁ παιάν, καὶ ἐχόμενος τῶν εἰρημένων· τρία γὰρ πρὸς δύ' ἐστίν, ἐκείνων δὲ ὁ μὲν ἓν πρὸς ἕν, ὁ δὲ δύο πρὸς ἕν, ἔχεται δὲ τῶν λόγων τούτων ὁ ἡμιόλιος· οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ παιάν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι διά τε τὰ εἰρημένα ἀφετέοι, καὶ διότι μετρικοί· ὁ δὲ παιὰν ληπτέος· ἀπὸ μόνου γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι μέτρον τῶν ῥηθέντων ῥυθμῶν, ὥστε μάλιστα λανθάνειν.*

[8] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De compositione verborum* (= *On Literary Composition*) 25: *Πᾶσα λέξις ἢ δίχα μέτρου συγκειμένη ποιητικὴν μοῦσαν ἢ μελικὴν χάριν οὐ δύναται προσλαβεῖν κατὰ γοῦν τὴν σύνθεσιν αὐτήν· ὅπερ οὖν ἔφην, οὐ δύναται ψιλὴ λέξις ὁμοία γενέσθαι τῇ ἐμμέτρῳ καὶ ἐμμελεῖ, ἐὰν μὴ περιέχῃ μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμούς τινας ἐγκατατεταγμένους ἀδήλως. οὐ μέντοι προσήκει γε ἔμμετρον οὐδ' ἔρρυθμον αὐτὴν εἶναι δοκεῖν (ποίημα γὰρ οὕτως ἔσται καὶ μέλος ἐκβήσεταί τε ἁπλῶς τὸν αὐτῆς χαρακτῆρα), ἀλλ' εὔρυθμον αὐτὴν ἀπόχρη καὶ εὔμετρον φαίνεσθαι μόνον· ἡ δὲ πεπλανημένα μέτρα καὶ ἀτάκτους ῥυθμοὺς ἐμπεριλαμβάνουσα καὶ μήτε ἀκολουθίαν ἐμφαίνουσα αὐτῶν μήτε ὁμοζυγίαν μήτε ἀντιστροφὴν εὔρυθμος μέν ἐστιν, ἐπειδὴ διαπεποίκιλταί τισιν ῥυθμοῖς, οὐκ ἔρρυθμος δέ, ἐπειδὴ οὐχὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτό.*

[9] Chapters 25 and 26, according to L. Radermacher and H. Usener's division (Radermacher and Usener, *Dionysii Halicarnasei quae extant*, vol. 6. Leipzig: Teubner, 1929) = W. Rhys Roberts, *On Literary Composition* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1910), 251-83.

contains metrical feet of all sorts, but they escape notice because they are either incomplete, inserted in unexpected places, or out of sequence. Poetry, on the other hand, is much like prose when it chooses to "syncopate" its rhythms by means of enjambment or by inserting other kinds of pauses in places other than the usual. In other words, poetry "embraces within its compass similar meters and preserves definite rhythms, and is produced by a repetition of the same forms, line for line, period for period, or strophe for strophe… [Prose], on the other hand, … contains casual meters and irregular rhythms, … [and] is rhythmical, since it is diversified by rhythms of a sort, but not *in* rhythm, since they are not the same nor in corresponding positions."[10] Dionysius illustrates his argument with a number of lines from the prose of authors such as Demosthenes, Isocrates, and Plato – scanned somewhat creatively[11] – which he argues to be comprised, either fully or partially, of one of the familiar poetic meters.

Unlike Dionysius, who is mostly concerned with stylistic effect, Cicero gives prose rhythm a much fuller and more sophisticated treatment. He argues that proclivity toward rhythmical discourse is natural, that rhythm gives pleasure, and that it can only profit an orator to master its use in prose – since the goal of an orator is "to prove, to please, and to sway or persuade. To prove is the first necessity, to

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[10] *On Literary Composition* (trans. Roberts), 255: *ἡ μὲν ὅμοια περιλαμβάνουσα μέτρα καὶ τεταγμένους σῴζουσα ῥυθμοὺς καὶ κατὰ στίχον ἢ περίοδον ἢ στροφὴν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν σχημάτων περαινομένη κἄπειτα πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις ἐπὶ τῶν ἑξῆς στίχων ἢ περιόδων ἢ στροφῶν χρωμένη καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι πολλοῦ ποιοῦσα ἔρρυθμός ἐστι καὶ ἔμμετρος…*

please is charm, to sway is victory; for it is the one thing of all that avails most in winning verdicts."[12] The presence of rhythm in prose, he says, is not as obvious as in poetry; prose needs to be bound and restricted by rhythm, but should not contain actual verses.[13] All of the rhythms used in poetry are suitable for use in prose; however, some are suited for certain purposes and parts of the oration, others for other: swift rhythms, for example, are suitable for parts meant to be sped along, and slow and steady rhythms are for the stately style. The rhythms in the beginning of an oration or even a sentence should anticipate its end and the overall effect that the speaker intends to produce.[14] Rhythm in prose is contained not only in the use of poetic feet, which temper the style, but also in the use of certain rhetorical figures, which, by virtue of their symmetry, produce a rhythmical effect.[15] Cicero discusses in detail the various types of figures and poetic feet appropriate for one purpose or another as well as the vices of a style too rhythmical or rhythmically monotonous.[16] "To express my opinion briefly," he concludes, "the fact of the matter is that to speak

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[11] See W. Rhys Roberts' opinion in his introduction to *On Literary Composition* (*ibid.,* 33-39); Casper de Jonge advanced a similar argument in a paper delivered at the Fifteenth Biennial Conference of the International Society for the History of Rhetoric, Los Angeles, 2005.

[12] *Orator* 69 (trans. Hendrickson and Hubbell, 357): Probare necessitates est, delectare suavitatis, flectere victoriae; nam id unum ex omnibus ad abtinendas causas potest plurimum.

[13] *Orator* 187 (Hendrickson and Hubbell, 462-65): Perspicuum est igitur numeris astrictam orationem esse debere, career versibus.

[14] *Orator* 191-203 (*ibid.*, 466-77).

[15] *Orator* 164-67 (trans. Hendrickson and Hubbell, 442-47).

[16] *Orator* 230-35 (*ibid.*, 500-507).

with well-knit rhythm without ideas is folly, but to present the ideas without order and rhythm in the language is to be speechless."[17]

A discussion of rhythm similar to Cicero's but even more comprehensive we find in Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoriae.*[18] Quintilian declares that he agrees with Cicero's views, and adds sophistication to his treatment. Prose is not poetry, he says; poetry is marked by identical rhythms and recurring meters, while prose should be marked by similar yet varying rhythms and occasional poetic meters.[19] Quintilian draws a subtle distinction between rhythm and meter[20] and discusses at length the types of rhythms and poetic feet suitable for the beginning, middle, and end of the sentence as well as for the various types of style.[21]

The opinions of these rhetoricians are not meant to provide an exhaustive account of ancient theory about prose rhythm, but simply to underscore the importance of the issue. Greek prose rhythm was "rediscovered" by classical scholarship toward the end of the nineteenth century, and the beginning of the twentieth century saw some vigorous debates about the general principles of ancient

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[17] *Orator* 236 (trans. Hendrickson and Hubbell, 507): Res se autem sic habet, ut brevissime dicam quod sententio: composite et apte sine sententiis dicere insania est, sententiose autem sine verborum et ordine et modo infantia…

[18] *Institutio oratoriae* IX.4.

[19] *Institutio oratoriae* IX.4.52-60.

[20] *Ibid.,* IX.4.45-51.

[21] *Ibid.,* IX.4.60-147.

meter and the ways in which they are played out in prose.[22] The discussions inspired a number of ventures into the rhythm of modern languages and literatures[23] – and even prompted some psychologists to attempt a scientific definition of the rhythm of prose.[24] Unfortunately, interest in the subject seems to have died away after the 1920s, and today – save for an occasional piece, which may perhaps be thought of as "dated" research[25] – scholarly discussions are virtually absent.

The reason may be that rhythm is perceived as part of the domain of style, and style is a close ally of form, and form has not been a priority for literary scholars since the fall of New Criticism. The situation in the field of rhetorical studies is not much better, although perhaps for different reasons. After the dramatic split between the English and Speech Communication departments in the beginning of the

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[22] The literature is quite large: see, for example, Friedrich Blass, *Die Rhythmen der attischen Kunstprosa: Isokrates—Demosthenes—Platon* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1901) and *Die Rhythmen der asianischen und römischen Kunstprosa* (Leipzig: Georg Böhme, 1905); Hugo Gleditsch, Caspar Hammer, and Richard Volkmann, *Rhetorik und Metrik der Griechen und Römer* (München: C. H. Beck, 1901); Thomas Goodell, *Chapters on Greek Metric* (New York: C. Scribner;s Sons, 1901); Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Verskinst* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1921); Tadeusz Zielinski, *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden: Grundzüge einer oratorischen Rhythmik* (Leipzig: Dieterichsche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1904).

[23] See, for example, Walter de la Mare, "Poetry in Prose: Warton Lecture on English Poetry at the British Academy, 1935" in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 21 (1935); William M. Patterson, *The Rhythm of Prose* (Ithaca, NY: Columbia University Press, 1916); Wayland M. Parrish, "The Rhythm of Oratorical Prose" in *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James Albert Winans* (New York: The Century Co., 1925); George Saintsbury, *A History of English Prose Rhythm* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912); Norton R. Tempest, *The Rhythm of English Prose: A Manual for Students* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).

[24] See, for example, Abram Lipsky, "Rhythm as a Distinguishing Characteristic of Prose Style," *Archives of Psychology* 1 (1906-08); Warner Brown, "Time in English Verse Rhythm," *Archives of Psychology* 1 (1906-08).

[25] See, for example, Denys C. W. Harding, *Words into Rhythm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Richard Lanham, "Sentence Length, Rhythm and Sound" in *Revising Prose* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1979).

twentieth century, English has assumed guardianship of "literature," while Speech has claimed custody of "rhetoric."[26] In an effort to articulate the disciplinary boundaries and academic status of rhetoric, Speech Communication scholars adopted the methodology of the philologists and historians – a methodology considered as close to "genuine science" as possible, since it is based on "accurate observation, experiment (when possible), and generalization."[27] This methodology then is applied to the study of oratory – which Herbert Wichelns defines as a type of discourse "at the boundary of politics and literature." Rhetorical criticism becomes "an end in itself;" its goal is the "literary criticism of oratory" or of rhetorical texts in their proper social and political contexts – that is, "of the work of the speaker, of the pamphleteer, of the writer of editorials, and of the sermon maker," as distinct from works of literature, which embody "permanent and universal values."[28]

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[26] For more on the institutional history of English and Speech Communication, as well as the development of rhetoric as a discipline in North America, see Jeffrey Walker, "A Short Institutional History of Rhetoric in North America After the Eighteenth Century" in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, vol. 7 (Ed. Gert Ueding. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2005); see also Steven Mailloux's first chapter "History: Disciplinary Paths of Thought" in *Disciplinary Identities: Rhetorical Paths of English, Speech, and Composition* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2006); Sharon Crowley, *Composition in the University: Historical and Polemical Essays* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998); Gerald Graff, *Professing Literature: An Institutional History* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987); and Robert Scholes, *The Rise and Fall of English: Reconstructing English as a Discipline* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

[27] Mailloux, *Disciplinary Identities*, 11-12, citing Fred Newton Scott's paper "Rhetoric Rediviva" at the annual MLA meeting of December 1909.

[28] Herbert Wichelns, "The Literary Criticism of Oratory" in *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James Albert Winans* (New York: The Century Co., 1925).

Thus emphasis in research and teaching shifts toward analysis – after the classical model provided by Aristotle – rather than production of discourse.[29] Consequently, rhetoric takes a more or less Aristotelian or rather, "neo-Aristotelian"[30] turn toward the study and analysis of enthymematic argumentation, with little, if any, attention to form and style. In a well-known essay regarded as programmatic, Karl Wallace, Head of the Department of Speech and Theatre at the University of Illinois from 1947 to 1968, argues that the proper concern of the theory and practice of rhetoric should be value-judgments and their statements. The substance of rhetoric is "good reasons," i.e., "statement[s] offered in support of an *ought* proposition." The way to discern which arguments are correct is by asking questions like: "What is my choice? What are the supporting and explanatory statements? What information is trustworthy?"[31] In other words, Wallace insists that the focus of rhetoric should be the invention of enthymematic arguments – or, to put it more simply, coming up with acceptable things to say in each particular

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[29] On Aristotle's *Rhetoric* as an analytical rather than teaching tool, see Jeffrey Walker, "Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the Notion of "Rhetorical Criticism'," *Annuario Filosófico* 31.2 (1998), 581-601. Available in English from https://webspace.utexas.edu/jw2893/www/dion/html; Internet; accessed 2 June, 2007; see also "On Rhetorical Traditions: A Reply to Jerzy Axer." Alliance of Rhetoric Societies Meeting, Northwestern University, September 2003. Available in English from https://webspace.utexas.edu/jw2893/www/RhetoricalTraditions.htm; Internet; accessed 2 June, 2007. See also Janet Atwill's chapter "Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and the Theory/Practice Binary" in *Rhetoric Reclaimed: Aristotle and the Liberal Arts Tradition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).

[30] I am not using this term in the strict sense associated with the so-called Chicago School of Neo-Aristotelianism.

[31] Karl Wallace, "The Substance of Rhetoric: Good Reasons," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 49, no. 3 (1963), 239-48.

situation.[32] Accordingly, histories of rhetoric and rhetorical theory tend to ascribe much weight to the Aristotelian influence in the teaching of rhetoric, and of that, to Aristotle's theory of the enthymeme – such as, for example, in Friedrich Solmsen's survey of the Aristotelian tradition in ancient rhetoric.[33] Little attention is devoted to style and delivery – although Aristotle himself treated the topic in no small detail, and Theophrastus, his student and successor, is said to have composed a now lost treatise on the subject. In other words, for the most part, Aristotle – and to be more specific, Aristole's preference for an analytical approach toward enthymematic argument – assumes a central position in modern rhetorical theory and practice. Thus theory takes the upper hand; it becomes a neutral tool for discovering and critiquing arguments as well as an antidote against unwanted persuasion.[34]

I am certainly doing the field an injustice by painting with too broad a brush. However, in the opinion of many outside the field, it seems, rhetorical studies are primarily concerned with detecting and resisting persuasion. For example, in a blog for the *New York Times Select* of May 6, 2007, in which he reviews a recent book published by Random House, Stanley Fish identifies Aristotle and the Aristotelian

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[32] Michael Leff, "Up from Theory: Or How I Fought the *Topoi* and the *Topoi* Won," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (2006), 203-11.

[33] Friedrich Solmsen, "The Aristotelian Tradition in Ancient Rhetoric," *American Journal of Philology* 62, no. 1 (1941), 35-50 (pt. 1) and 62, no. 2 (1941), 169-90 (pt. 2).

[34] For a pertinent discussion of the state of rhetorical studies, see the contributions of Janet Atwill, James Fredal, Ekaterina Haskins, Debra Hawhee, Susan Jarratt, Michael Leff, John Poulakos, and Jeffrey Walker to "Performing Ancient Rhetorics: A Symposium" in *The Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (2006).

tradition – or what he describes as the Aristotelian tradition – as token representatives of rhetorical theory and practice for the last two thousand and four hundred years. Aristotle, he contends, considers the subject of style and persuasion unworthy of serious discussion, but sets off to list all devices employed by people who, motivated by partisan passion, attempt to deceive and "turn us away from the truth." Fish then gives the following summary of the classical tradition and the current state of rhetorical studies:

> Aristotle's "Rhetoric" may be the first, but is certainly not the last treatise that performs the double task of instructing us in the ways of deception and explaining (regretfully) why such instruction is necessary. The Romans Cicero and Quintilian took up the same task, and they were followed by countless manuals of rhetoric produced in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the 18th and 19th centuries and down to the present day. A short version of the genre – George Orwell's "Politics and the English Language" – has been particularly influential and is still often cited 60 years after its publication.[35]

Fish will go on to argue that, although the ancient luminaries of rhetoric have presumed rhetoric to be the art of deception, that is, the art of skillfully arranging and presenting facts in a beguiling and persuasive manner, "facts" cannot be separated from their discursive context. Therefore, the "linguistic project" of Brooks Jackson

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[35] Stanley Fish, "Stanley Fish: The All-Spin Zone," 6 May, 2007 [blog online]; Internet; Available from http://freedemocracy.blogspot.com/2007/05/stanley-fish-all-spin-zone.html; accessed 3 June, 2007.

and Kathleen Jamieson's *unSpun: Finding Facts in a World of [Disinformation]*[36] is a chimera, because one cannot perceive facts objectively, free from "spin."

Since this is not the place to bring up the old question of whether language is reality-reflective or reality-formative, I will only reflect – briefly – on Fish's impression of what the history and goals of rhetoric are. He is certainly right to point out Aristotle's suspicion of persuasion, style, and delivery. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is just part of his larger philosophical project of producing enlightened political leaders, who should know how to use – but not be fooled by – the discursive arts, in order to achieve a happy and well-ordered society.[37] However, he is spectacularly wrong about Cicero and Quintilian – not to mention the whole medieval and Renaissance tradition of rhetorical manuals. Not only do they not regard style and delivery with suspicion, but they encourage their study and practice in every way. Curiously enough, Fish rounds off his account with Orwell, thus effectively equating the goal of rhetoric (as he sees it professed) with linguistic clarity – in addition to identifying the history of rhetoric with the Aristotelian tradition.

Fish's attitude is perhaps a distilled version of the impression that rhetorical studies and composition teaching practices leave with the "outsider," whether s/he be an academic or not. Teaching rhetoric/composition has shifted to teaching, for

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[36] Brooks Jackson and Kathleen H. Jamieson, *unSpun: Finding Facts in a World of [Disinformation]* (New York, NY: Random House, 2007).

[37] See Carol Poster, "Aristotle's Rhetoric against Rhetoric: Unitarian Reading and Esoteric Hermeneutics," *American Journal of Philology* 118 (1997): 219-249; also Brad McAdon, "Rhetoric is a Counterpart of Dialectic (*Ἡ ῥητορική ἐστιν ἀντίστροφος τῇ διαλεκτικῇ*)," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 34, no. 2 (2001): 113-150.

the most part, argument analysis and invention only, that is, discovering things to say on either side of an issue – or analyzing the relevance and validity of those things; discovering things about oneself and others; or discovering ways to create shared meaning. Just a brief look at the 2007 catalog of Bedford/St. Martin's, one of the leading publishers of rhetoric and composition texts, suffices to show the importance accorded to enthymematic argument.[38] Under the section "Rhetorics," the catalog lists thirteen new titles, six of which are featured prominently as versatile and widely applicable teaching texts; some are new editions of influential composition textbooks, such as Rose Axelrod and Charles Cooper's *St. Martin's Guide to Writing* (in its eighth edition); X. J. Kennedy, Dorothy Kennedy, Marcia Muth, and Sylvia Hollada's *Bedford Guide for College Writers* (in its seventh edition); and Kathleen McWhorter's *Successful College Writing* (in its third edition). "Strategy" is the keyword in describing the reading and writing activities prescribed for students, whether it is a "critical thinking strategy," which involves "mapping and writing," "taking inventory," "outlining," "summarizing," "contextualizing," "looking for patterns of opposition," "recognizing emotional manipulation;" or "research strategy," which involves finding one's way among various kinds of resources; or "writing strategies," which involve "narrating," "defining," "classifying," "comparing and contrasting," and "arguing."[39] Another suggestion for managing

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[38] Bedford/St. Martin's. *Composition Texts 2007*. Publisher's catalog.

[39] *Ibid.,* 30-31 (citing the table of contents for *St. Martin's Guide to Writing*).

the production of written texts is by dividing the process into "strategies for generating ideas," "strategies for planning," "strategies for drafting," "strategies for developing," "strategies for revising and editing," etc. Sample essays are often grouped together, under a "Reader" section, and arranged thematically according to the issues they tackle.[40] Style, if given any place at all, is usually relegated to an explanation of effective transitions, correct grammar and syntax, word choice, and mechanics – occasionally, figurative language as well. Stylistic issues are generally treated in more detail in the so-called "handbooks," of which Bedford/St. Martin's 2007 catalog offers eight titles. As the genre name suggests, these are reference tools, not teaching texts; they contain brief descriptions of prescribed pre-writing activities, an invariable guide to correct grammar, some discussion of syntax and its effects, a guide to correct punctuation and mechanics, some discussion of word choice, and a guide to documenting sources.[41] The content is organized in a manner easy for quick reference rather than in-sequence and in-depth study. The presentation and discussion of style are equated, for the most part, with clear expression and correct grammar and syntax.

I do not mean to suggest that these are the only approaches to the teaching of writing. The University of Chicago's core writing course, for example, still uses material based on Joseph Williams' popular book *Style: Ten Lessons in Clarity and Grace*, whose pedagogy is driven by form and syntax rather than argument. Although

[40] *Ibid.*, 35 (citing the table of contents for *The Bedford Guide for College Writers*).

Williams' book has gone through seven editions in just this version, it is by no means considered cutting-edge, or mainstream – or even theoretically justified, in terms of composition theory. If the book continues to be used, it is only because it produces results.

The situation in the field of rhetorical research and theory is slightly, but not much, better. We have been preoccupied with defining and redefining the substance, tools, and scope of rhetoric, its involvement in various modes of discourse, its relationship with the human subject, human knowledge, and human language. For example, one of the popular sourcebooks for rhetorical theory, *Professing the New Rhetorics*, edited by Theresa Enos and Stuart Brown,[42] includes excerpts form Ferdinand de Saussure ("The Nature of the Linguistic Sign"), I. A. Richards ("How to Read a Page *and* Speculative Instruments"), Kenneth Burke ("Definition of Man"), Richard Weaver ("The Cultural Role of Rhetoric"), Chaïm Perelman ("The New Rhetoric: A Theory of Practical Reasoning"), Donald Bryant ("Rhetoric: Its Functions and Its Scope"), Robert Scott ("On Viewing Rhetoric as Epistemic"), Terry Eagleton ("Conclusion: Political Criticism"), and James Berlin ("Poststructuralism, Cultural Studies, and the Composition Classroom: Postmodern Theory in Practice"), among many others. Most of these essays are primarily concerned with articulating the definition and function of rhetoric, or the

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[41] *Ibid.*, 19 (citing the table of contents of Andrea Lunsford's *Easy Writer: A Pocket Reference* (3rd ed.)).
[42] Theresa Enos and Stuart Brown, eds. *Professing the New Rhetorics: A Sourcebook* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Blair Press/Prentice Hall, 1994).

relationship between rhetoric and other aspects/products of language and intellectual/social activity, such as ideology, culture, and identity. The actual materiality and shape of language, if brought up at all, is considered briefly and on a most abstract level.

Perhaps I should mention here that style has received a lot more attention from scholars engaged in historical research.[43] Yet, on the whole, enthymematic argumentation – its analysis and production at the expense of other aspects of discourse – has become a dominant mode of teaching rhetoric and composition, just as a version of "Aristotelianism" that prioritizes the articulation of *logos*-oriented research has been at the core of rhetorical discussions during the latter half of the twentieth century.[44] Thus style and rhythm have been demoted as the proper interest of "formalists" and "philologists."

In contrast, ancient rhetorical theory is rather preoccupied with style. Quite a few pieces on various aspects of style survive, treated in different degrees of abstraction and sophistication: Aristotle, for example, gives style a fair treatment in *Rhetoric*; Demetrius' *On Style* (*Peri hermêneias*) is a detailed and very sophisticated discussion of Peripatetic origin; Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On Literary Composition*

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[43] Just a few examples: Kenneth Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Jeanne Fahnestock, *Rhetorical Figures in Science* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Douglas Kelly, *The Arts of Poetry and Prose* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991); Michael Roberts, *The Jewelled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989); Marjorie Curry Woods, *Classroom Commentaries: Teaching the* Poetria Nova *Across Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (forthcoming).

[44] On the centrality of the enthymeme in Aristotelian studies, see Ekaterina Haskins, *Logos and Power in Isocrates and Aristotle* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 102-103f.

is primarily concerned with the analysis of stylistic effects; for Cicero stylistic training is an indispensable part of the education of the orator[45] – the list will go on for too long, if I add all Hellenistic and late antique works on the subject. Suffice it to say that Hermogenes' work *On Types of Style* (*Peri ideôn*), which discusses existing styles according to their characteristics – such as, for example, the beautiful, the clear, the solemn, the swift, the dignified, etc. – comprised a standard part of the rhetorical "curriculum," starting perhaps after the second century AD and continuing, in the East, throughout the medieval Byzantine period, until the fall of Byzantium in the fifteenth century, if we are to judge by the number of medieval commentaries on that work.[46] Another example would be the countless treatises on tropes and figures that any scholar of medieval rhetoric, Eastern or Western, is compelled to sort through.

Perhaps yet a third reason that today we tend to sidestep issues of language form is that we refuse to fully recognize the relationship between the sheer material structures of sound and language and the immediate intuitive as well as cognitive responses they evoke. Recent studies on the psychology of music and rhythm, for example, indicate that meaning in music, including tonality and rhythm, "is not a

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[45] See, for example, *Orator*, *Brutus*, and *De Oratore*.

[46] Hermogenes' treatise has been translated into English, with an introduction, by Cecil B. Wooten, *Hermogenes' On Types of Style* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1987). See Christian Walz, *Rhetores grace: ex codicibus florentinis, mediolanensibus, monacensibus, neapolitanis, parisiensibus, romanis, venetis, taurinensibusi*, vols. 1-7 (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1832-36), for Byzantine commentaries on Hermogenes. See also Thomas Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (New York: Longman, 1990), 53-63 and George Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 183-196.

construction of the mind's ear, but is available to be heard" in a form rendered audible by instruments and is widely shared among a community of listeners;[47] that rhythm and reading comprehension may be more closely related than we think; and even that there may be a connection between memory failure, learning disorders, mental disability and certain types of dysrhythmia (rhythmic dysfunction).[48]

Ancient rhetorical theory, at the very least, recognizes the relationship between stylistic form and emotional effect. Cicero, for example, famously declares that the "thunderbolts of Demosthenes would not have sped with such vibrant power if they had not been whirled onward by rhythm."[49] He speaks of the different virtues and vices of style as intimately related to the arousal or restraint of feeling.[50] Quintilian also discusses style in connection with the emotional reactions (pleasure, displeasure) it evokes.[51] Aristotle, who is generally uncomfortable with *pathos*, but gives a very detailed treatment of it in Book 2 of the *Rhetoric*, returns to the question

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[47] Anne D. Pick and Caroline F. Palmer, "Development and the Perception of Musical Events" in Thomas J. Tighe and W. Jay Dowling, eds., *Psychology and Music: The Understanding of Melody and Rhythm* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum and Associates, 1993). The book contains a very useful collection of essays on music and rhythm.

[48]See James R. Evans, "Dysrhythmia and Disorders of Learning and Behavior;" Charles A. Elliott, "Rhythmic Phenomena – Why the Fascination?"; and William S. Condon, "Communication: Rhythm and Structure" in James R. Evans and Manfred Clynes, eds., *Rhythm in Psychological, Linguistic, and Musical Processes* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1986).

[49] *Orator* 234 (Trans. Hendrickson and Hubbell, 507): cuius tam vibrarent fulmina illa, nisi numeris contorta ferrentur.

[50] *Orator* 36ff.

[51] *Institutio oratoriae* VIII-IX.

of emotion again, when he discusses style and delivery in Book 3[52] – these are just a few examples and by no means a comprehensive list.[53]

The point I have been trying to make so far is that sidestepping issues of style – and thereby, rhythm – is not only unwise, but also contrary to long-standing ancient and medieval rhetorical theory and practice. Unlike today, Aristotle and the Aristotelian account of rhetoric was a major influence neither on the theory nor on the practice of rhetoric in earlier periods. Throughout the Byzantine Middle Ages, Aristotle was best-known as "the philosopher" and read mostly for his books on dialectic – his *Rhetoric* was generally found neither useful nor especially insightful.[54] It was Hermogenes and the books of the Hermogenic corpus – *On Staseis*, *On Invention*, *On Types of Style*, *On the Powerful Method of Speaking*, along with the *Progymnasmata* (preliminary composition exercises) – that formed the core of the rhetorical curriculum. As the titles suggest, practical training and theoretical

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[52] On *pathos* in Aristotle, see William Fortenbaugh, *Aristotle on Emotion: A Contribution to Philosophical Psychology, Rhetoric, Poetics, Politics, and Ethics* (London: Duckworth, 2002); more specifically on Aristotle's account of pathos and its relation to his theory of the enthymeme, see Jeffrey Walker, "*Pathos* and *Katharsis* in "Aristotelian" Rhetoric: Some Implications" in Alan Gross and Arthur Walzer, *Rereading Aristotle's* Rhetoric (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000) and Thomas Conley, "*Pathê* and *Pisteis*: Aristotle "Rhetoric" 2.2-11," *Hermes—Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie* 110 (1982): 300-315.

[53] For more on the relationship between rhetorical figures and the emotions, see A. D. Leeman, *Orationis Ratio: The Stylistic Theories and Practice of the Roman Orators, Historians, and Philosophers*, vols. 1-2 (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1963); Brian Vickers, "The Theory of Rhetorical Figures: Psychology and Emotion" in *Classical Rhetoric in English Poetry* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1970).

[54] See Thomas Conley, "Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in Byzantium," *Rhetorica* 8, no. 1 (1990): 29-44 and "The Alleged 'Synopsis' of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* by John Italos and Its Place in the Byzantine Reception of Aristotle" in Gilbert Dahan and Irène Rosier-Catach, eds., *La Rhétorique d'Aristote: traditions et commentaires de l'antiquité au XVII siècle* (Paris: Librarie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1998).

reflection on style comprised a considerable part of the instruction. Yet it would be reductive to see style as a track separate from invention, i.e., from the discovery of arguments, and it is perhaps incorrect also to think of them as sequential tracks – regardless of their enumeration as separate and sequential entities in the classical five canons of rhetoric, that is, invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery.

In other words, the handling of subject matter was inseparable from the handling of form, and style was not merely the embellishment of content. Indeed, as the eleventh-century rhetorician Michael Psellos puts it, "the special power of this art [i.e., rhetoric] is apparent in its excellence of composition and its flowers of fine diction, but its pride is not merely persuasive falsehood, or speaking on both sides of an issue. It also cleaves to an exacting muse and blossoms with philosophic thoughts and finely-spoken turns of phrase, and its audience is drawn by both."[55] Psellos does not see rhetoric as simply an instrument for the adornment of philosophic thoughts, but also for their production, along with aesthetically pleasing turns of phrase.[56]

To illustrate how form comprised an indelible part of the invention process, I will look at a few passages from *On Invention*,[57] one of the texts routinely used for

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[55] Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* 6.197 (Trans. Jeffrey Walker, "Michael Psellos on Rhetoric: A Translation and Commentary on Psellos' Synopsis of Hermogenes," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (2001), 5-40): *[διὰ τῆς] συνθήκης καὶ τῶν σχημάτων [οἷς] ἡ ἐκείνης ἀφώρισται δύναμις, οὐδὲ τῷ πιθανῷ μόνον ψεύδει καὶ τῷ πρὸς τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀμφιῤῥεπεῖ ἐγκαλλωπίζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἅπτεται μούσης, καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἐννοίαις φιλοσοφεῖ, ἀνθεῖ δὲ τῇ καλλιεπείᾳ τῶν λέξεων καὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν διχόθεν ἑαυτῆς ἐξαρτᾷ.*

[56] Walker, "Michael Psellos on Rhetoric," 13.

[57] Hugo Rabe, *Hermogenis opera* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913); it is available in English translation in George Kennedy, *Invention and Method: Two Rhetorical Treatises from the Hermogenic Corpus* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

teaching purposes throughout the late antique and Byzantine period. It is ascribed to Hermogenes, but it is more likely that the author was Apsines of Gadara.[58] The treatise is intended to prepare beginner students of rhetoric for declamation, the school practice of oratory, which trained the students for actual speeches in the law courts and the civic assemblies.[59] As such, it gives practical advice on how to invent and structure an oration. It is divided into four sections: on *proemium* (i.e., oratorical introduction), on narration (i.e., exposition of the facts), on confirmation (i.e., argument), and on features of style. The section on narration (*diêgêsis*) gives the following advice on how to make an exposition "broader" (*platunetai*):

> We say that, first, each component of the matter discussed should be broadened with three or four clauses or often with even more. For the potential of the narrative is not restricted by a stated measure – as is the proemium, but it has resources and measure as far as the will or ability of the speaker […] For the same thing, explained several times, reveals the good order of the speech. The practice of this [kind of thing] very much nurtures the ability of the rhetor [to speak in] well-knit sentences. For we necessarily furnish varied and different words when we look for varied and diverse ways to recast the clauses.
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> In the first place, then, [the narration] is lengthened by means of the style of expression. […] Then indeed we shall look for the reason of what has been committed, and when we find it, shall describe each thing in as many clauses as we can.[60]

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[58] Malcolm Heath, "Apsines and Pseudo-Apsines," *American Journal of Philology* 119 (1998): 89-111.

[59] See Kennedy's introduction to *Invention and Method*, xiii-xix; on declamation, see Donald Russell, *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); George Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 44-53 and *New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 208-217.

[60] Rabe, *Hermogenis opera*, 120-121 = Kennedy, *Invention and Method*, 50-52: *ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν φαμεν πρῶτον χρῆναι τῶν λεγομένοων ἕκαστον καὶ τρισὶ καὶ τέτρασι κώλοις πλατύνεσθαι ἢ καὶ πλείοσιν ἐκφέρεσθαι πολλάκις. οὐ γὰρ ἐστενοχώρηται τῆς διηγήσεως ἡ δύναμις ῥητῷ μέτρῳ, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ προοίμιον, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίαν ἔχει καὶ μέτρον*

In other words, if the exposition of the facts needs to be amplified, the author of *On Invention* advises that we start with style, i.e., by expanding and elaborating on the main points in three to four more clauses, after which we are to look for the causes of the actions and also describe those in as many clauses as we can. If we are to begin, for example, by pointing out our contributions to the commonwealth, we would not simply say, "I have always been a good citizen," but, as pseudo-Hermogenes suggests, "Not only today do I care for this city, nor have I just begun to love the commonwealth, but for a long time – and even a very long time, have I proved that I care for you. And I think that I have shown a thousand times that I am looking out for your wellbeing."[61] Thus the idea of good citizenship is divided into components: care for the city, love for the commonwealth, love for one's fellow-citizens, and practical actions to prove it. In other words, the prescribed number of clauses and their function (amplification, elaboration) become a tool for the invention of arguments.

τὴν βούλησιν ἢ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λέγοντος […] τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα πολλάκις ἑρμηνευθὲν κόσμον ἐνεδείξατο τοῦ λόγου. τρέφει δὲ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ῥήτορος μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς περιγραφαῖς τοῦτο ἀσκούμενον. ἐξ ἀνάγκης γὰρ ποικίλων ὀνομάτων καὶ διαφόρων εὐποροῦμεν ζητούντων ἡμῶν ποικίλοις καὶ πολυτρόποις ὀνόμασι μεταποιεῖν τὰ κῶλα. Πρῶτον μὲν οὕτω μηκύνεται ἐξ ἑρμηνείας […] ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ τοῦ πεπραγμένου τὴν αἰτίαν ζητήσομεν, και ὅταν εὕρομεν, ὅσοις ἄν δυνώμεθα κώλοις ἕκαστα ἀφηγησόμεθα. See Kennedy's alternative translation, "for the same thing, repeatedly expressed, has revealed the ornament of the speech" (mine is "for the same thing, explained several times, reveals the good order of the speech"). The difference in translation, however, does not affect my argument. See also Kennedy's explanation of *perigraphae* as "language in which several successive cola form a certain system, such as antithesis or parallelism. A period is a type of *perigraphê*" (53, n. 80).

[61] Rabe, *Hermogenis opera*, 120. Translation adapted from Kennedy, *Invention and Method,* 50: *ἐγὼ περὶ τὴν πόλιν εὔνους οὐ τήμερον, οὐδὲ νῦν ἠρξάμεν ἀγαπᾶν τὰ κοινά, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας πάλαι καὶ πρόπαλαι πολλὰ ἐξενήνοχα δείγματα. καὶ ὅτι τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ὑμῖν ἀνασκοπῶ, μυριάκις δηλῶσαί μοι δοκῶ.*

Another example is pseudo-Hermogenes' presentation of the enthymeme. The enthymeme, as Aristotle has it, is the smallest argumentational unit in rhetorical and practical reasoning; it is something of a truncated syllogism. *On Invention* gives a different view of the enthymeme: it is the antithetical conclusion to a succession of arguments, a stylized "cap" of sorts.[62] "The enthymeme," he says, "carries a reputation for striking effect (*drimytês*), which [can become] greater when it is understood what it is, how to invent it, and where. Indeed, the arrangement itself necessarily gives it a reputation for striking effect."[63] The author will continue with the following example (which I have simplified for the sake of clarity): if one is to refute the statement that it is difficult to dig a canal through the Chersonese (a Greek peninsula) with the reason that it is not difficult, because they will have to dig through [soft] earth (as opposed to a rocky mountain), and in support adds an elaboration that the king of Persia once dug a canal through Athos (a Greek mountain), then the enthymeme will come to sum up and cap the entire line of reasoning: "He dug through a mountain, while we shall dig earth."[64] The example plays off the traditional rivalry between the Greeks and the Persians (if the king of Persia can dig through a mountain, we can certainly do better) as well as on the opposition between flat, presumably soft earth and rocky mountain. What is critical

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[62] On the history of the enthymeme, see Thomas Conley, "The Enthymeme in Perspective," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 70 (1984), 168-87; also Jeffrey Walker, *Rhetoric and Poetics in Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 168-85, which draws on Conley's discussion.

[63] Rabe, *Hermogenis opera*, 150. Translation adapted from Kennedy, *Invention and Method,* 101.

[64] Rabe, *Hermogenis opera*, 150-151 = Kennedy, *Invention and Method*, 100-103.

in achieving persuasion in this case is to highlight the softness of the earth – since this is what would make digging easy and not difficult. In order to achieve that, the flat Chersonese peninsula is juxtaposed with the mountain Athos, just as the Greeks' presumably better spirit and skills are juxtaposed with those of the Persians – resulting in an expanded antithesis. The arrangement of the statements is the following: It is not difficult to dig a canal, because we shall dig through earth, "and the excavation will be child's play;" the king of Persia once dug a canal through Athos; "he dug through a mountain, while we shall dig earth."[65] Thus the enthymeme, which is the last clause, caps – in a succinct antithetical manner – the entire line of reasoning. In order to achieve the striking effect of the cap, one needs a carefully graded, antithetically structured line of reasoning.

Although it is tempting to go into example after example from *On Invention*, I will briefly wrap things up with just one more that is particularly relevant to my project. In Book 4, we find an explanation of what a *pneuma* is: a complete thought, made up of long and/or short clauses, measured by the supply of breath of the speaker.[66] In other words, it is a complete thought that a speaker can (comfortably) deliver in one breath. It could contain one or more sentences (*periodoi*), or it could be just made up of clauses (*kôla, kommata*). Pseudo-Hermogenes divides the *pneuma* into different kinds, such as, for example, the interrogative or the deictic, and then points

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[65] Rabe, *Hermogenis opera*, 151-152; the quotations come from Kennedy's translation.

[66] Rabe, *Hermogenis opera*, 183-192.

out that there can be as many *pneumas* as there are figures of speech and their possible combinations. In the next chapter he says that whenever a thought exceeds the supply of breath of the speaker and stretches it out longer than necessary, then it is called *tasis* (i.e., stretching), which in prosecution is known as *kataphora*, i.e., invective or bearing down [on the defendant]. This indicates, perhaps, that whenever the prosecution employed *tasis*, he would take a deep breath and launch a tirade against the defendant until he had expelled every little bit of air from his lungs. It is clear from this discussion that the content of *pneuma* and *tasis* is driven by the form it needs to take: the thought needs to be completed in one breath; it needs to encompass either one figure or a self-contained combination of figures, and, in the case of *tasis*, it needs to be suitable to the presumably indignant, swift, and overwhelming manner of presentation.

An in-depth study of the ancient and medieval theory and practice of style, therefore, would tremendously enrich our own understanding of the production and rhetorical effects of discourse. The goal of my dissertation, however, is much more modest than the scope of the introduction would suggest – but it is a small step in this direction. I use several Byzantine homilies (sermons),[67] composed between the fourth and the ninth centuries, and their tenth-century translations into Old Church Slavonic in order to argue that deliberately sought rhythmical structures permeate

[67] I am using the terms homily and sermon interchangeably to mean the discourse delivered by the priest/preacher within the context of the liturgy. Preaching outside the liturgy was by no means common practice in the Byzantine world, unless it was done in preparation for baptism or for monastic instruction.

every part of the oratorical discourse. The greater part of my efforts focuses on the questions of whether it is warranted to look for deliberate rhythms within an entire homily, what kinds of rhythms we are to expect, and in what way rhetorical training in prose rhythm may have been carried out. My goal here is to bring discussions of prose rhythm back to the attention of scholars.

What was discovered, with much effort, about Byzantine prose rhythm at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries boils down to a very simple rule (also known as "the accentual *cursus*"): a *clausula* (i.e., the end of a clause) is considered rhythmical if there is an even number of syllables between the last two spoken stresses. A version of this phenomenon is first noticed by P. Edmond Bouvy in 1886:[68] he suggests that deliberately rhythmical pieces of prose from the fourth century would have a large number of *clausular* accentual "dactyls" (/_ _), as in ἄνθρωπος (*anthrôpos*) or ἀνεχώρησαν (*anechôrêsan*). Dissatisfied with the articulation of Bouvy's principle and unable to find a writer who follows it regularly, Wilhelm Meyer offers an improvement on it: in rhythmical prose, the ending cadence generally allows only two unstressed syllables between the last two stresses, as in διαλέγονται ἄνθρωποι (*dialegontai anthrôpoi*, _ _ /_ _ /_ _) or ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων (*hapantôn anthrôpôn*, _/_ _/_).[69] The validity of Meyer's "law" is further confirmed

[68] P. Edmond Bouvy, *Poètes et Mélodes: etudes sur les origins du rhythme tonique dans l'hymnographie de l'Église Grecque* (Nîmes: Impr. Lafare frères, 1886).

[69] Wilhelm Meyer, "Der accentuirte Satzschlußgesetz in der byzantinischen Prosa vom IV. bis XVI. Jahrhundert" in Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zum mittellateinischer Rythmik*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905).

statistically by Karl Krumbacher,[70] but disputed on methodological grounds by Konstantin Litzica.[71] Since the history of the research and controversies surrounding the articulation of the *cursus* law in Byzantine prose has been discussed at length by Wolfram Hörandner,[72] I will simply touch on the most relevant developments. The law of Byzantine prose rhythm, in the form we know it today, was eventually formulated by Paul Maas, who derived it from a comparison with the Latin *cursus*: only an even number of syllables may stand between the last two spoken stresses.[73] As Maas' formulation has proven definitive, the question then shifts to the origin of the *cursus* and then back to the statistical methodology used to determine whether the *cursus* does not, in fact, occur naturally at a very high rate in the medieval Greek language.

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[70] Karl Krumbacher, "Ein Dithyrambus auf den Chronisten Theophanes," *Sitzungsbericht der köninge Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 4 (1896): 583-625.

[71] Konstantin Litzica, *Das Meyerische Gesetzschluß in der byzantinischen Prosa, mit einem Anhang über Prokop von Käsarea* (Ph. D. dissertation: München, 1898).

[72] Wolfram Hörandner's study *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981) is the most comprehensive contemporary treatment of the issue of Byzantine prose rhythm; the history of the research is discussed on 26-44. For a very accessible and brief introduction to the issue of Byzantine prose rhythm, see Christoph Klock, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Rhythmus bei Gregor von Nyssa: ein Beitrag zum Rhetorikverständnis der griechischen Väter* (Frankfurt am Mein: Athenaum, 1987). Henry B. Dewing ("The Accentual Cursus in Byzantine Greek Prose, with Especial Reference to Procopius of Caesarea," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of the Arts and Sciences*, 14 (1910): 415-466) discusses in detail Meyer's treatment of the secondary accent, the question of the stress value of the grave, circumflex, and acute accents, as well as the flaws in Litzica's methodology – which he eventually rejects. His own methodology is reviewed by Paul Maas, "Die Rhythmik der Satzschlüsse bei dem Historiker Prokopios," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 21 (1912): 52-53.

[73] Paul Maas, "Rhythmisches zu der Prosa des Konstantinos Manasses," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 11 (1902): 505-512.

The two questions are related, as Henry Dewing demonstrates in his study on the prose of Procopius of Caesarea. The accentual *cursus* does occur in some form or other in classical prose – whose rhythm is built on the principle of syllabic quantity, not stress accent, but not as regularly or frequently as it does in Byzantine prose.[74] Therefore, the answer to the question of origins becomes very important in determining how rhythmical a text can be assumed to be. For a while, the issue was debated hotly: does the Byzantine *cursus* simply mimic the Latin; is it a mechanical substitution of the same quantitative cadences inherited from classical Greek; or is it a natural development in the interaction between the disappearing syllabic quantities of classical Greek and the emerging stress accent of medieval Greek?[75] The dispute about the *cursus* origins never sees a satisfactory resolution,[76] but the issue of statistical probability is settled by Stanislaw Skimina, who compares figures from a number of texts, some of which are assumed to be rhythmical and some unrhythmical,[77] and also offers additional studies on individual Byzantine rhetorical

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[74] Dewing, "Accentual Cursus," cited in n. 72 above; also Stanislaus Skimina, *De Ioannis Chrysostomi rhythmo oratorio* (Cracovia: Academia Polona Litterarum, 1927).

[75] See Wilhelm Meyer, "Lateinische Rythmik und byzantinische Strophik" in *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinische Rythmik*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1936), 114; G. L. Hendrickson, "Accentual Clausulae in Greek Prose of the First and Second Centuries of Our Era," *American Journal of Philology* 29, no. 3 (1908): 280-302; Henry B. Dewing, "The Origin of the Accentual Prose Rhythm in Greek," *American Journal of Philology* 31, no. 3 (1910): 312-328.

[76] The most probable explanation, as Hörandner notes, is that what was normal – that is, the high occurrence of Form 2 in the Greek language (see main text below) – became normative in literary texts (*Prosarhythmus*, 37-42).

[77] Skimina, *De Ioannis Chrysostomi rhythmo*, 22f; *État actuel des études sur le rythme de la prose grecque*, vol. 2 (Lwow: Société polon. de philologie, 1930), 20-22: he concludes that the natural occurrence of Form 2 (see below 29ff) in the Greek language is about 30%.

and literary texts. Thus the validity of the Meyer—Maas law is established decisively and the issue is laid to rest – save for occasional studies on individual authors.

It is not until the 1980s that prose rhythm begins to attract scholarly attention again. In *Prosarythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner*, Hörandner reviews carefully all the research on the topic, streamlines and organizes Skimina's techniques into standard forms, and discusses the use of rhythm by the authors of the *progymnasmata* (composition textbooks) as well as by the early Byzantine rhetorical schools and some middle Byzantine authors. Hörandner sees his research as a development of the groundwork laid by Skimina, who suggests that rhythmic analysis can be a useful tool in textual and stylistic criticism – something Hörandner demonstrates in practice by idenitfying different rhythmic "signatures" for the different authors and even for whole schools, and by offering a sample of *Echtheitskritik*: on the basis of preferred cadences, he settles a long-standing problem of authorial attribution. Hörandner's chief contribution is his insightful analysis of the use of rhythm in the composition textbooks – whose model exercises show a very high occurrence of the *cursus*, thus implying that the acquisition of good rhythm was consistently cultivated in the classroom – as well as his sketch of the rhythmical "profiles" of rhetorical schools and individual authors.

By now it has probably become clear that research on prose rhythm has been entirely quantitative. Unlike their classical and Hellenistic predecessors, the Byzantine rhetoricians have not left us an adequate and clear account of what prose rhythm is – at least, not in our eyes. Therefore, statistical comparison is the chief

method of establishing rhythmicity. A rhythmical cadence is any *clausular* cadence that has an even number of syllables between the last two accents; no distinction is made between a grave, a circumflex, and an acute accent. The standard way of transcribing the different rhythmical cadences is the following: Form 0 (F 0) is a phrase with no syllables between the last two accents, as in the phrase *ἀναχωρεῖν δεῖ*. An oxytone word (a word whose accent falls on the last syllable) is marked with O; a paroxytone word (a word with an accent on the penultima) is marked with P; a proparoxytone word (a word with an accent on the antepenult) is marked with Pr. Thus, in the example above, we have a 0—OO. The other two possible combinations of Form 0 are: OP, OPr. Form 1 (F 1), which is rhythmically irregular, contains 1 syllable between the last two accents, as in *μαρτυρεῖ σπουδήν*. The possible combinations for F 1 are: OO, PO, OP, PP, OPr, and PPr. Form 2 (F 2) contains two syllables between the last two acents, as in *προτείνεται λόγους*. The possible combinations for F 2 are: OO, PO, PrO, OP, PP, PrP, OPr, PPr, and PrPr.[78] The most popular rhythmical form is the so-called "double dactyl," that is, a 2—PrPr, as in *διαλέγονται ἄνθρωποι*. And so on, with Forms 3, 4, 5, and 6. Only F 0, F 2, F 4, and F 6 are the rhythmical forms; and of these, F 2 is by far the most popular form: over 80% of Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata* show F 2. F 4 is the second most used; F 6 is

[78] Hörandner, *Prosarhythmus*, 33 and 46.

rare. To determine the rhythmical character of a text, all regular forms are added up: for example, Aphthonius's text shows over 97% of regular cadences.[79]

The statistical figures are obtained in the following way: a researcher would sample a few hundred to a few thousand clauses from a number of texts, and count the number of syllables between the last two accents before major or minor punctuation (the manuscript punctuation is regarded as somewhat reliable; often, however, the researchers would follow the syntactical and semantic structure of the text in determining where to place clause divisions). The results are compared against the following control numbers: 33% for F 2, 17% for F 4, and 2% for F6 – according to Skimina, these are the rates of natural occurrence of the three forms in the Greek language.[80] In other words, if the obtained results are significantly higher than these (with, perhaps, 15-20%), we can speak of a deliberately sought rhythmical effect.

In the following chapters I concern myself not so much with *clausular* cadences as with the overall rhythm of the phrase and the sentence. So far research on Byzantine prose rhythm has been preoccupied with the ending cadence,[81] which – although deemed extremely important by the Byzantine rhetoricians – accounts for

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[79] *Ibid.*, 161.

[80] Skimina, *État actuel*, 20ff; Hörandner, *Prosarhythmus*, 41; Klock, *Gregor von Nyssa*, 235.

[81] Some notable exceptions are: Klock, *Gregor von Nyssa*, 219-60, who has studied the interaction between the *cursus*, the syntactical structure of the phrase, and the rhetorical figures; Helena Cichocka, "Die Periodenkonstruktionen bei Zosimos," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 35 (1985), 93-112, who has studied the relative length of the period as far as the number of *kola* it contains in the prose of Zosimos.

only one part of the rhythmical structure of a rhetorical discourse and covers only the last two words in a given clause. Nevertheless, the results achieved represent a crucial progress in our understanding of prose rhythm. However, if we are to attain a fuller appreciation of rhythmicity, we need to look beyond the *cursus* and discover which principles prompted the Byzantine rhetoricians to praise certain texts as rhythmically well-crafted and censure others as awkwardly put together.

The first chapter is a clause-by-clause comparison of five Byzantine homilies, composed between the fourth and the ninth centuries, and their tenth-century translations into Old Church Slavonic. The comparison shows a remarkable correspondence between the total number of syllables and stresses per clause in the two languages. A large part of the chapter discusses the methodology of the statistical method and the difficulties of working with the Slavonic material, due to the unstable character of the two reduced vowels known as front and back *jer*. Since Greek and Old Slavonic are linguistically unrelated, I conclude that the Slavonic translators strove to preserve the rhythmical patterns of the original homilies, just as they strove to preserve the rhythmical and phonetic patterns of translated Greek liturgical poetry – something already demonstrated in research on Old Slavic poetry.

The question then bounces back to issues of Byzantine prose rhythm in general: is it made up only of particular *clausular* cadences or does it include patterns that affect the whole sentence and even larger discursive units? The second chapter explores the classical and late antique theoretical underpinnings of rhythm in general and prose rhythm in particular. I argue, against the grain of contemporary metrical

theories, that there was a strong tradition of differentiation between rhythm and meter in late antiquity. Prose rhythm, as I contend, was considered the domain of the *rhythmicians* (not *metricians*) and defined by word arrangement and cadence. On the basis of late antique rhetorical treatises and their Byzantine commentaries, I argue that the word and its main accent were perceived as the basic unit of prose rhythm – and that the *cursus* should be seen as the rhythmical "conclusion" of a discursive unit. I cover the texts that the Byzantines would have read, with an occasional excursion into Hellenistic and late antique theory, which formed part of the tradition inherited by the Byzantines.

Chapter three considers the evidence yielded by Byzantine rhetorical commentaries and *scholia* on classical literature; I argue that the Byzantine teachers taught accentual rhythm by looking for regular *accentual* patterns (e.g., accentual "iambics," "dactyls," or accentual responsion[82]) in classical Greek texts and pointing them out to their students, who in turn most likely internalized them through recitation, imitation, and reproduction in their own compositions. The implication is that serious study of accentual patterns in classical Greek poetry and prose – an issue typically considered irrelevant – is needed. I also draw a parallel between Byzantine homiletic prose and Byzantine accentual poetry, which operated on the same principles. Byzantine audiences, although largely untrained in practical and theoretical issues of prose composition, could not have failed to perceive the similarity between prose and poetry.

In the fourth chapter I argue that the same principles of regular accentual patterns and responsion in the Greek texts are to be expected in the first Slavic translations (late ninth to early tenth century) of Greek homilies. Thus the persistent recurrence of similar rhythmical patterns, as I conclude, even across national and linguistic boundaries, may lead us to think of rhetorical rhythm – and style in general – as a shared experience, and even a *topos* of invention: an issue that requires a whole new inquiry and rereading of the existing material. The investigation may explain the enormous emphasis on style in late antique and medieval rhetorical handbooks, both in the East and West. It would also have implications for contemporary rhetorical theory as well as historical rhetorical studies in that it would reconsider the history of rhetoric to give a prominent place not only to enthymematic argumentation but also style and its impact in individual persuasion and communal assent.

[82] I use this term in the sense of corresponding patterns.

Chapter 1. Byzantine Prose Rhythm and the Evidence of Old Church Slavonic Translations

In this chapter I discuss several tenth-century Old Church Slavonic translations of Greek homilies. Since the tenth century was a period of active translation and imitation of Greek literature in the Balkans following the Christianization of the Slavs in Bulgaria, I have turned to those translations in the hope of gaining insight both into Old Church Slavonic (from here on, OCS) prose rhythm and, perhaps, Greek prose rhythm as well. Somewhat surprisingly, I find that Greek prose rhythm has been transmitted into Slavonic – yet not *clausular* rhythm, but a rhythm in which the total number of accents and syllables per *kolon*[83] play a significant role and which I have provisionally termed 'syllabotonic.'

My observations are based on a corpus of seven homilies found in the Codex Suprasliensis (or Codex of Retko, if we go by the name of the scribe), the largest of the extant archaic OCS codices. Found in 1823 by K. M. Bobrovskij in the monastery of Suprasl, the codex has been divided into three parts, currently in the National and University Library in Ljubljana, the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, and the National Library (Zamoyski Collection) in Warsaw. It was published in 1851 by F. Miklošič,[84] in 1904 by S. Severianov (reprinted in 1956),[85]

[83] From now on I use the English word 'clause' to mean either *kolon* or *komma* (longer or shorter clause).

[84] Franz Miklošič, *Monumenta linguae palaeoslovenicae e Codice suprasliensi* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1851).

and in 1982 by Iordan Zaimov and Mario Capaldo.[86] I am using the latest edition, which contains an introduction, extensive bibliography, critical apparatus, text facsimile, and transcript. The OCS texts are accompanied by their respective Greek parallels – texts believed by Capaldo to be the extant copies closest to the originals.[87]

The major part of the codex is a *menologion*, that is, a collection of saints' lives, for the month of March, predating the Metaphrastian reform,[88] with the relevant lives. In addition, it contains a homiliary (that is, a collection of sermons) for the period of time between the Saturday of Lazarus and the Sunday of Thomas, i.e., from the Saturday before Palm Sunday to the Sunday after Easter. Paleographically it is dated to the end of the tenth century,[89] and is believed to be a

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[85] Sergei Severianov, *Suprasl'skaia rukopis'* (Pamiatniki staroslavianskogo iazyka, vol. 2, bk. 1. St. Petersburg: 1904. Reprint. Graz: Akademische Druk- und Verlagsanstalt, 1956).

[86] Iordan Zaimov and Mario Capaldo, *Suprasulski ili Retkov sbornik* (Sofia: Bulgarska akademiia na naukite, 1982). All subsequent chapter and page references will refer to that edition.

[87] Zaimov reproduces Severianov's transcript of the OCS text, correcting some printing and transcription errors. Capaldo is responsible for providing the original Greek texts, which he has supplied from various manuscripts held at the Vatican and other libraries; several come from Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (from now on, *PG*) and other modern editions.

[88] Symeon Metaphrastes (? – ca. 1000) systematized existing saints' *Lives*, standardized, corrected, and embellished their language, and organized the material according to the feasts of the church calendar. After the eleventh century the Metaphrastian *menologion* became standard reading in monastic circles.

[89] Alfons Margulies, *Der altkirchenslavonische Codex Suprasliensis* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitaetsbuchhandlung, 1927), 11. Zaimov adds the argument that the expensive cover, large uncial letters, and size of the manuscript indicate a generous ecclesiastical or lay sponsorship, which could not have been possible during the eleventh century, when the First Bulgarian Kingdom fell to Byzantium (1018) and the Bulgarian Church lost its autonomy from Constantinople. The Byzantine secular and ecclesiastical administration presumably expended much effort to integrate the Slavs into the Empire and to establish Greek as the official language. Thus the production of a large and expensive codex in OCS would have been very unlikely. See A. Kochubinskii ("O Suprasl'skoi rukopisi I—II," *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk po otdeleniiu russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti* 2, no. 4 (1897): 1143-48), F. Pastrnek ("O rukopise Supraslskem," *Listy filologičke* 24 (1897): 96-109), I. Paplonskii ("Izvestie

copy of a pre-existing collection compiled and/or translated during the reign of the Bulgarian king Symeon, most probably within his circle of learned clerics, translators, and scribes.[90] A Greek archetype for the Codex Suprasliensis has not been found yet, although some scholars have contended that it may have been modeled on a type of Greek *menologion* no longer extant.[91] It has been established conclusively that the translations in the codex Suprasliensis belong to two distinct schools of translation: the oldest, Cyrillo-Methodian school, and one of its successors, the Preslav school.[92] The translation of most of the homiletic texts

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o Suprasl'skoi rukopisi," *Varshavskie universitetskie izvestiia* 4 (1872): 1-5) for more on the paleography of the Codex Suprasliensis.

[90] The language shows features native to the northeastern parts of Bulgaria, thus making Symeon's court in the capital of Preslav a likely place of origin for the translation and compilation, especially because his reign (893-927) was a very active time in the translation of Greek texts and the dissemination of ancient and patristic learning. Cf. Zaimov, *Suprasulski sbornik*, 5-8 for a more detailed discussion of the provenance of the text.

[91] Such as Albert Ehrhard (*Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der Griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende den 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1/5 (1937), 593-603), who argues that the Codex Suprasliensis is a direct translation of an existing Greek menologion. Ehrhard's position, however, is countered by the fact that the texts in the Codex Suprasliensis seem to have been the work of two different schools of translation, the Cyrillo-Methodian and the Preslav, thus making the hypothesis of an original compilation more likely; see below. While acknowledging the possibility of a Greek prototype, Capaldo ("Za sustava na Suprasulskiia sbornik" in *Purvi mezhdunaroden simpozium za Suprasulskiia sbornik, Prouchvaniia vurhu Suprasuskiia sbornik: starobulgarski pametnik ot X vek. Dokladi i raziskvaniia. 28-30 septemvri 1977, Shumen* (Sofia: Bulgarska akademiia na naukite, 1980), 209) nevertheless argues for an original compilation.

[92] Margulies (*Codex Suprasliensis*, 202-206) observes that the texts in the Codex Suprasliensis can be divided into three groups: one, the "older" and simpler *Lives,* two, the "later," more encomiastic *Lives*, and three, the homilies, most of which belong to Chrysostom, with individual chapters by other authors. He argues that the "later" *Lives*, Epiphanius' *Homily on the Entombment,* and St. Basil of Caesarea's *Homily on the Forty Holy Martyrs of Sebaste* exhibit language features which belong to a period later than the language of the bulk of the homiletic material. S. Kulbakin ("Leksicke studije. Homilije Supraslskog zbornika," *Glas srpske kraljevske akademije* 182/(92) (1940): 9-24) maintains that chapters 21, 29, 31, 32, 34, 37, 39, 40, and 41 are of an archaic Southwestern Slavic origin (Macedonia), while chapters 6, 26, 27, 30, 33, and 35 are of a later Northeastern Slavic origin (northeastern Bulgaria, or Moesia). N. van Wijk (*Zur Komposition des altkirchenslavischen Codex Suprasliensis* (Amsterdam: [n. p.], 1925) and "Zur Vorgeschichte zweier altkirchenslavischen

belongs to the Cyrillo-Methodian school, while the hagiographic texts, with small exceptions, seem to have been translated by the Preslav school. It is also believed that the hand of a Preslav redactor revised to a certain extent the language of the older translations to make them conform to the norms of that school.[93]

Ever since its discovery, the Codex Suprasliensis has been the object of intense scholarly attention, accumulating a huge bibliography.[94] I have chosen to work on homilies from this codex rather than selecting my material piecemeal, since it provides a more or less single rhetorical context for the comparative study of rhythm. As I already pointed out, the manuscript is comprised of a *menologion* and a homiliary. The former contains saints' *Lives* read during the month of March, belonging to the fixed cycle of the liturgical year; the latter, homilies for the week before and the week after Pascha and belonging to the movable cycle of Great Lent.[95] Great Lent does not always encompass the entire month of March, but it

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Denkmäler," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 40 (1926): 266-71) supports the argument about the heterodox origin of the material in the codex. However, the idea of two different schools of translation belongs to Dora Ivanova-Mircheva. For her discussion and bibliography on the matter, see "Suprasulskiiat sbornik i starobulgarskite prevodacheski shkoli" in *Prouchvaniia vurhu Suprasulskiia sbornik: starobulgarski pametnik ot X vek. Dokladi i raziskvaniia. 28-30 septemvri 1977, Shumen* (Sofia, Bulgarska Akademiia na Naukite, 1980): 81-86. Ivanova-Mircheva also summarizes the differences in approach between the Cyrillo-Methodian and the Preslav schools of translation.

[93] Ivanova-Mircheva, 85; see also Ivanova-Mircheva, "Homiliarut na Mikhanovich" (*Izvestiia na Instituta za bulgarski ezik* 14 (1968)): 381-91 and Margulies, 202-07.

[94] For a full bibliography until 1977, see Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik,* 13. For a brief summary of research on the Codex Suprasliensis during the same period, see Lidia Stefova, "Sustoianie na prouchvaniiata vurhu Surpasulskiia sbornik" in *Prouchvaniia vurhu Suprasulskiia sbornik: starobulgarski pametnik ot X vek. Dokladi i raziskvaniia. 28-30 septemvri 1977, Shumen* (Sofia, Bulgarska Akademiia na Naukite, 1980), 66-79.

[95] In containing material for both the movable and the fixed cycle, the Codex Suprasliensis is a typological relative of the Codex Clozianus and the Mikhanovich Homiliary; see Klementina

often begins in March or takes up a part of it; thus, both the *menologion* and the homiliary texts should be read in the context of Great Lent: the most important time of the ecclesiastical year and traditionally a period of repentance, contemplation, and preparation for the feast of the Resurrection.

MAIN TEXTS

My corpus of texts belongs to the homiliary, with the exception of one of the three control texts (*Life of St. Konon*), which is chosen from the *menologion*. Three of the homilies had previously been attributed to St. John Chrysostom, but now regarded as inauthentic:[96] *Homily on the Saturday of Lazarus* (Chapter 27, *incipit: ὥσπερ μήτηρ φιλότεκνος ἐπιδοῦσα τὴν θηλὴν τῷ νηπιῷ τέρπεται*), *Homily on Palm Sunday* (Chapter 28, *incipit: ἐκ θαυμάτων ἐπὶ τὰ θαύματα τοῦ κυρίου βαδίσωμεν, ἀδελφοί*), and *Homily on Great and Holy Pascha* (Chapter 42, *incipit: χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ πάντοτε, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί*).[97] One homily, *On the Sunday of Thomas*, is authored by Proclus of Constantinople but attributed to Chrysostom[98] (Chapter 44, *incipit: ἥκω τὸ χρέος*

Ivanova, "Tsikl velikopostnykh gomilii v gomiliarii Mikhanovicha," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 32 (1977): 219-44.

[96] The question of authorship is of no significance here – what is more important is that these homilies were widely read and circulated.

[97] J. A. de Aldama, *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum* (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherché scientifique, 1965). The question of authorship, however, bears no consequence in my study.

[98] F. J. Leroy, L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople: tradition manuscrite, inédits, etudes, connexes (Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1967), 237-51.

ἀποδώσων ὑμῖν). Finally, I have included Epiphanius of Cyprus' well-known homily *On the Entombment of Christ and Descent into Hades* (Chapter 40, *incipit τὶ τοῦτο; σήμερον σιγὴ πολλὴ ἐν τῇ γῇ*).

As I mentioned above, the homilies in the Codex Suprasliensis bear the marks of two different schools of translation: the ninth-century Cyrillo-Methodian school, and the tenth- to early eleventh-century Preslav school, presumably established by Symeon.[99] At least one of the Chrysostomian homilies (*Homily on Great and Holy Pascha*, chapter 42) shows archaic language features, and is believed to have been copied from an older codex of Chrysostom's sermons; another one (*Homily on the Saturday of Lazarus*, chapter 27) shows northeastern Slavic features and was probably done by the Preslav school.[100] The Chrysostomian homilies as a whole (including Proclus' *On the Sunday of Thomas*) seem to have come from an older translation, while the other two (Epiphanius and Photius) exhibit features associated with the Preslav school: the translation, for example, is philologically correct to the point of Graecizing the OCS syntax, and the number of calques (i.e., loan translations) is noticeably higher. The existence of two different translations helps to validate my findings about their rhythm: since the statistical figures I have obtained are very similar, it is, therefore, much more likely that the same rules were upheld by more than one translator or group of translators.

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[99] Ivanova-Mircheva, "Prevodacheski shkoli," see note 11 above. Cf. also N. van Wijk, "Die Übersetzung der Homilie *Eis ton euangelismon tês hyperagias Theotokou,*" *Byzantinoslavica* 7 (1937-38), 108-23.

The texts I have selected would have been performed during the church services. Not much is known about the performance of a Byzantine homily; we can only surmise that the Byzantines endeavored to uphold the performative traditions of late antiquity. Even less is known about homily performance in a Slavic setting, but it is possible – and quite likely – that many Byzantine features were transplanted onto Slavic soil. That may have been especially the case with Symeon and his circle of intellectuals: having been prepared for a career as an archbishop and having received an excellent education in Constantinople, he was sometimes referred to as the "half-Greek."[101] The people who surrounded him, presumably also Greek-trained, were probably very sensitive to an aspect as important and intrinsic to Byzantine rhetorical performance as prose rhythm, and tried to render it somehow in their translations – as I am attempting to demonstrate.

There have been suggestions that parts or even whole homilies may have been chanted instead of spoken. Although it is true that chant is the predominant mode of vocalization of Scripture readings and litanies in an Orthodox liturgical setting and thus, the sermon would have been performed in a framework of chant, it is not very likely that the sermon itself was also chanted. Because of its instructional value in that it usually interpreted the Scripture reading for the day – and thus served as the

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[100] Kulbakin, *Leksicke studije*, 9-24. See also Margulies, *Codex Suprasliensis*, 207-22.

[101] According to common scholarly interpretation, Symeon became the second Bulgarian king when his father Boris I, the first Christian ruler of the Bulgar-Slav khaganate, who had abdicated in favor of his eldest son Vladimir Rasate, overthrew Vladimir when the latter attempted to restore the worship of pagan gods, and placed Symeon on the throne. In an effort to achieve cultural independence from Byzantium, Symeon generously sponsored intense literary and translation activities.

instrument for the practical transmission of Christianity for the majority of the medieval Byzantine and Slavic population, a homily was considered a most important part of the liturgy. Therefore, declamation rather than chant would have been a way to set it off – as well as a way to connect in a different and more direct way with the audience. Some additional light on the matter may be thrown by the nineteenth canon of the Quinisext Council (Council in Trullo) of 691/92, since it enjoins on the higher clergy the daily preaching of "pious discourses" – which may be interpreted as the preaching of a prose homily, in the sense of a non-chanted text.[102] Furthermore, the ninth-century *Typikon* of the monastery of Stoudios contains instructions that a homily be *read* (*ἀναγινώσκειν, ἀνάγνωσις*) during two separate services on Pascha (*Oratio* 1 (*PG* 35:396A)) by St. Gregory of Nazianzus for the Ninth Hour and a homily by St. John Chrysostom (*εἴτις εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόθεος* (*PG* 99:1704) for Matins).[103] The same word is used in the service instructions of the

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[102] Cf. Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1949), 174. Wellesz surmises that the Nineteenth Canon of the Quinisext Council (*ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτας ἐν πάσαις μὲν ἡμέραις, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ταῖς κυριακαῖς , πάντα τὸν κλῆρον καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἐκδιδάσκειν τοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγους, ἐκ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἀναλεγόμενους, τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας νοήματά τε καὶ κειμένατα...*) contributed much towards the disappearance, at the end of the seventh century, of the popular versified homily called *kontakion*, which was performed by chanters. The *kontakia* were usually chanted after the Gospel readings; after 691/92 that time was allotted to a spoken homily. The Nineteenth Canon's greatest concern is the orthodoxy of the homiletic content to which church audiences are exposed, but the use of the word *λόγους* seems to indicate that homilies were spoken rather than chanted.

[103] John Thomas and Angela C. Hero, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders'* Typika *and Testaments*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000), 99-100. For the Greek text, see Aleksei Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei khraniashchikhsia v bibliotekakh pravoslavnogo Vostoka.* Vol. 1: *Typika* (Kiev: Tipografiia G. T. Korchak-Novitskago, 1865), 226-27.

eleventh-century *typikon* of the Euergetis Monastery.[104] In addition to that, as G. Kustas notes, the word *homily* itself means a conversation, a kind of dialogue between speaker and audience.[105] *Homilies*, in other words, were probably not chanted but spoken, but exactly how they were performed, and what types of ecphonetic vocalizations (if any) were used, is still a matter of conjecture.

Therefore I have proceeded from the assumption that homilies were spoken rather than intoned in any way. Instead of paying attention only to the closing cadence, I have compared the total number of accents and syllables between the Greek original and its OCS counterpart in corresponding clauses. I have ignored the modern editor's punctuation in the Greek text and have proceeded according to the OCS translator's punctuation, which is of two kinds: a dot (·) in the middle of the line, and four dots placed crosswise (⁘). The manuscript punctuation is clearly performative and was probably transmitted literally from the originals, since the dots mark more or less self-contained segments of text, that would have been spoken without a pause, while the four dots, usually followed by a new paragraph, set off much longer excerpts, and seem to mark a major pause.[106] That the OCS

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[104] Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 256-655.

[105] George Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* (Thessalonike: Patriarchikon Idryma Paterikôn Meletôn, 1973), 44. For a broad discussion of the context in which homilies were performed, see Mary Cunningham, "Preaching and the Community." In *Church and People in Byzantium: Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Twelfth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (Manchester, 1986)*, edited by Rosemary Morris (University of Birmingham: Center for Byzantine, Ottoman, and Modern Greek Studies, [n. d.]).

[106] On the performative nature of OCS punctuation and that it reflects the rhythmical structure of the text, see Roman Jakobson, "Zametka o drevnebolgarskom stikhoslozhenii," *Izvestiia Akademii nauk po*

punctuation is to be trusted in the matter of the original Greek clause division is also supported by a brief comparison between one of the OCS texts (Proclus' *On the Sunday of Thomas* (Vat. Gr. 2079, f. 58v-67v) and its Greek manuscript counterpart: the match between the punctuation of the OCS text and that of the Greek text is over 98%.[107] Although there is no way of knowing whether the OCS translator used the same manuscript, a coincidence of about 98% and more indicates that: 1) at least a closely related manuscript (or more than one) was used, and 2) the OCS translator adhered to the Greek clause division; as a matter of fact, the slight difference could be attributed to his use of a manuscript different than the extant text.

METHODOLOGY

My method consists of comparing syllables and accents, as in the following example taken from the opening lines of (pseudo-) Chrysostom's *Homily on Palm Sunday*:

Ἐκ θαυμάτων ἐπὶ τὰ θαύματα τοῦ κυρίου βαδίσωμεν ἀδελφοί·	21 syllables/ 5 stresses
Отъ чюдесъ къ чюдесемъ̀ господьнѣмъ ходимъ братиꙗ·	21 syllables/ 5 stresses
καὶ φθάσωμεν ὡς ἐκ δυνάμεως εἰς δύναμιν ·	14 syllables/ 3 stresses
и̓ дои́дѣмъ а̓кы о̓тъ силы на силѫ·	14 syllables/ 3 stresses
καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἁλύσει χρυσῇ·	10 syllables/ 3 stresses

otdeleniiu russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti 24/2 (1923), 351-59; also Ekaterina Pantcheva, "The Pause as a Storyteller: Notes on the Punctuation of a Fourteenth Century Masterpiece," *Scripta and e-Scripta: Journal of Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies* 1 (2003), 161-74.

[107] All Greek punctuation marks have been rendered in OCS with the usual middle-of-the-line dot.

ꙗ҆коже бо вь҆ вєрнгахъ zлатахъ· 12 syllables/ 3 stresses

There is not much uncertainty about how to count the Greek syllables. Perhaps the only difficulty arises when it comes to the presence or absence of hiatus. The Byzantine authors are not consistent in their attitude: although in theory they declare that its avoidance maintains good rhythm, in practice they do allow it – and oddly enough seem to be much more careful about avoiding internal (within a word) than external hiatus.[108] In his study on the accentual Byzantine *cursus*, H. B. Dewing concludes that different Byzantine authors have varied degrees of tolerance towards hiatus. They avoid it for the most part, but where they allow it, it is for the sake of *clausular* rhythm.[109] Dewing's method, however, depends on the predictability of the number of syllables in rhythmical *clausula*e; it is, therefore, impossible for me to use it in determining whether hiatus in a clause should be tolerated or not – the number of syllables could vary widely, and even if it does not, it may not be identical or predictable from clause to clause. I have, therefore, kept to the orthography of the Greek text, as published by Capaldo.

[108] See Mark Lauxtermann's insightful analysis of Joseph Rhakendytes' comments on hiatus ("The Velocity of Pure Iambs," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 48 (1998), 9-33).

[109] H. B. Dewing, "The Accentual *Cursus* in Byzantine Greek Prose: With Especial Reference to Procopius of Caesarea," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 14 (1910), 435-41; also useful is Dewing's more detailed study on hiatus, in which he reaches the same conclusions ("Hiatus in the Accentual *Clausula*e of Byzantine Greek Prose," *American Journal of Philology* 32 (1911), 188-204).

SYLLABLE COUNTS IN THE OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC TEXTS

If relatively easy in Greek, the matter of syllable counts in OCS[110] is complicated immensely by the question of whether the two high lax vowels known as front *jer* (ъ)and back *jer* (ь), which by the eleventh century began to either drop out of the spoken language or become fully vocalized, were still in place during the tenth century. Understandably, their status affects the syllable count in the OCS text. Moreover, the orthography of the Codex Suprasliensis shows much spelling confusion in words where *jers* are expected: въ/вь, кто/къто, толма/тольма, тѣмьница/тьмьница/тьмьница, etc. The problem of the *jers* has been treated in detail by August Leskien[111] and Margulies,[112] who agree that the spelling is inconsistent because **ь** in a weak position[113] has fallen out in the dialect of the scribe; in a strong position, **ь** has progressed into **е**, while **ъ** in a blocked syllable remains a full vowel. Thus the spelling, wherever "correct," comes from the original manuscripts, and where "incorrect," betrays the spoken dialect of the scribe. V. Vondrak reaches a

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[110] The syllabic structure in OCS consists of a single vowel which may be preceded by a maximum of three consonants (CCC)V (with one exception of four consonants). Any succession of vowels is thus to be counted as a succession of syllables.

[111] August Leskien, "Die Vokale ъ und ь im Codex Suprasliensis," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 27 (1905), 481-512.

[112] Margulies, *Codex Suprasliensis*, 38-51; the section on pages 17-19 on supralinear signs has bearing also on the problem of the *jers*.

[113] A *jer* is weak when it is in a syllable followed by a syllable with a non-*jer* vowel (д**ь**не). A *jer* is strong when followed by a syllable containing another *jer* (д**ь**нь). As the language develops, the weak *jers* cease to be pronounced and the strong *jers* become replaced by a non-high vowel, such as **е** or **о,** or become full independent vowels.

similar conclusion: the *jer* spelling is inconsistent because it is based on the two (or three)[114] original Cyrillic manuscripts on the basis of which the Codex Suprasliensis has been compiled.[115] However, there is not much agreement on the usage of the *jers* in combinations like ѓъ/ъѓ, лъ/ъл, ѓь/ьѓ, and ль/ьл. Leskien maintains that it depends on the orthographic tradition;[116] S. Obnorskii argues quite convincingly and with much evidence that the spelling of the *jers* in combination with a liquid represents the spoken dialect.[117]

To these opinions I must add my own observations and conclusions on the *jer* usage. The question of greatest importance for me is whether or not the *jers* can be considered syllable-forming vowels; thus, their phonetic change is of no consequence, but their drop is an issue. As has been noted by Leskien and

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[114] Both Leskien ("Die Vokale ь und ъ") and Margulies (*Codex Suprasliensis*), and with them Nicholas van Wijk ("Zu den altbulgarischen Halbvokalen," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 40 (1926), 38-43) agree that the manuscript is divisible into two parts in its *jer* spelling, which roughly correspond to the *menologion* and the homiliary. Leskien finds a difference between the two parts in the regressive change of the *jers* in prepositions and in word-medial positions and concludes that the *jer* change is not a vowel- but consonant-related phenomenon, which took place after the drop of the weak *jers* in accordance with the softening or hardening of the newly formed consonant groups.

[115] V. Vondrak, "Über einige orthographische und lexikalische Eigentümlichkeiten des Codex Suprasliensis." *Sitzungsberichte* 124, no. 2 (1891), 1-44. On the question of whether or not the Codex Suprasliensis was copied from a Glagolitic original, see K. Meyer, "Der Wechsel from **ê** und **ja** im Codex Suprasliensis" in *Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Joannis Rozwadowski* (Cracoviae, Druckerei Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 1928) – Meyer's conclusion is that it was not.

[116] August Leskien, "Die Vokale ь und ъ in den sogennanten altslovenischen Denkmälern des Kirchenslavischen" in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig,* Philologisch-historische Classe 27. Leipzig, 1875.

[117] S. P. Obnorskii, "Glukhie v sochetanii s plavnymi v Suprasl'skoi rukopisi," *Izvestiia otdeleniia russkago iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk* 17, no. 4 (1913), 333-384. Obnorskii argues that the spelling combination of *jer* plus liquid in the Codex Suprasliensis is absolutely consistent and that the *jers* neither drop nor undergo phonetic change nor become fully vocalized.

Margulies,[118] if not spelling, then supralinear signs can be of help in determining the existence or drop of a *jer*. The relevant supralinear signs are of three kinds: *spiritus asper* (῾), *spiritus lenis* (᾽), and the apostrophe (’). (Graphically the apostrophe differs from the *spiritus lenis* in the manuscript by being slightly smaller and thinner.) *Spiritus asper* is used very consistently to distinguish a separate vowel that comes after another vowel, as in бъ̔ашє, блⷢжда̔ашє, на оуспєхъ н̔ въı о̔богатⷢн̔, etc. *Spiritus asper* also appears regularly over a vowel following a word-final ъ. However, not all separate vowels are marked consistently with a *spiritus asper*. *Spiritus lenis* is used most commonly over a small *jer* when preceded by a consonant, as in сь̓мрь̓ть̀, ть̓кмо, and sometimes over other vowels when preceded by a vowel and marked by a certain degree of palatalization (j+V+V̀ or V+j+V̀), as in желаıє́мъıн̓, подаⷭ̔ (482.3), прнє́мь̓ⷭ̔н̓ (481.25), ѵловъѵь̓скъıⷭ̔ (480.18). Since the *spiritus asper* always marks a separate vowel preceded by another vowel, from combinations like власть̓ н̓мамъ (499.18), крьвь̓ н̓ водⷢ (Acc., 499.29), жнⷓнь̓ н̓ їстнна (499.16), прнстопь̓ıє́нь̓ıа (499.23) we can conclude that ь̓ was a distinct, syllable-forming vowel, even in weak positions. Likewise, word-final *jer*, when marked by a *spiritus asper*, was most likely also a syllable-forming vowel.

[118] Leskien, “Die Vokale ь und ъ,” 481-83; Margulies, *Codex Suprasliensis*, 17-19. See also Paul Diels’ correction of Leskien „Zur Schreibung des Codex Suprasliensis,“ *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 41 (1927), 115-16.

The trouble, of course, is in the fact that the *spiriti* do not appear everywhere they ought to appear, and thus we have no way of telling whether all written *jers* were pronounced or not. Based on spelling variations, Leskien and Margulies have made a strong argument that the small *jer* in weak position has already dropped out or changed into **e**. It is quite likely, then, that the *spiriti* were used for purposes of clarifying pronunciation, i.e., they were placed in positions where the pronunciation of the vowel was dubious, and served to distinguish the separate syllables. According to Heinz Miklas, a main function of all supralinear signs in both the Cyrillic and the glagolitic writing systems is the process of syllable differentiation (Syllabierverfahren, "syllabic procedure"), which makes the syllable – *not* the word – the main building unit of the text.[119] Such signs appear most often in long texts, which were meant to be read aloud, and which could be seen as reader-oriented (conversely, they appear

[119] Heinz Miklas, "Ot Preslavskiia subor do Preslavskata shkola. Vuprosi na grafematikata," *Palaeobulgarica* 17, no. 3 (1993), 3-12. Miklas argues that the glagolitic and the Cyrillic writing systems, with all the numerous spelling variations that they offer, are very consistent and do not differ in their use of the supralinear signs. In addition, both alphabets show a tendency to employ more than one letter for identical vowel phonemes. Thus, the supralinear signs apparently serve the process of syllabic differentiation (Syllabierverfahren) in a sequence of C+V:V, where the two vowels differ from each other; the same function is performed by two different graphic letter signs, placed one after another, when they designate the same vowel sound (e.g., тѡ, тіи, тни, тїи, тнї). It is no accident that these rules appear mostly in long texts meant for reading aloud – in other words, reader-oriented texts. Such an argument casts doubt on the well-established opinion that word-final *jers*, even in the earliest manuscripts, were only kept to distinguish the end of a word, since they had already dropped out of the spoken language. For more on the supralinear, sublinear, linear, and zero-signs and their development from the beginning of Slavonic writing through the late Bulgarian Period (after the forties of the fourteenth century), see Heinz Miklas, "Paläographische und graphematische Aspekte der kyrillischen Schriftentwicklung in Bulgarien (bis zum 14. Jh.)" in Reinhard Lauer and Schreiner, Peter, eds. *Kulturelle Traditionen in Bulgarien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1989).

least in texts which were writer- or scribe-oriented and were thus seldom read aloud, such as legal documents[120]).

Although the use of supralinear signs throws some light on the issue of syllabic differentiation, Leskien and Margulies's argument concerning the drop of the weak *jers* still holds. However, we should not forget that the drop concerns the dialect spoken during the *lifetime of the scribe* (end of tenth century), while the orthography reflects an earlier development of the language (beginning of the tenth century for the *menologion* part and possibly earlier for the homiliary) – which, unfortunately, makes things even more complicated, as far as syllable counts are concerned. Since the amount of material needed for statistical purposes is too large, it is impossible to reconstruct all the forms back to a grammatically "correct" version of OCS (which does not exist in a single surviving manuscript). In addition, a reconstruction of this kind could introduce an even greater possibility for error (because it may not be able to reflect the pronunciation of the translators either). Therefore, I have decided to count all *jers* as syllable-forming vowels. Wherever *jers* are omitted or inconsistent, as in кѣто/кто/к'то, вѣ/в, чѣто/что, I have kept to the orthography of the text rather than "correcting" the later form back to a hypothetical earlier pronunciation and adding a syllable. Although this method is surely flawed, the statistical figures

[120] This "common-sense" claim may be somewhat inaccurate, so I will qualify it by saying that our knowledge of the performance of medieval texts is quite rudimentary. For comparison, see Ralph Hall and Steven Oberhelman's study of the accentual *cursus* in the Theodosian laws: "Rhythmical Clausulae in the *Codex Theodosianus* and the *Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*," *Classical Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1985), 201-14. The presence of the *cursus* suggests that the laws were memorized and/or read aloud.

obtained still merit consideration. Besides, the efforts of the scribe to preserve the *jer* spelling where it was no longer phonetically meaningful in his speech speak of a tendency to archaicize the language of religious texts. Since the punctuation in the manuscript reflects performative units, there is no reason to think that the supralinear signs and the *jer* spelling were not retained for performative purposes. Moreover, we know from the study of sixteenth-/seventeenth-century Russian hymns that a vowel (such as **e** or **o**) was consistently maintained even in weak position by the habit of singing or chanting liturgical texts to old tunes, composed to match the musical structure to the vowels.[121] An archaic pronunciation of a text lends dignity and solemnity to the performance and inscribes it – in the ears of the listeners – within a venerable and old tradition.

The third supralinear sign that has relevance to syllable-formation is the apostrophe (*paerchik*). It appears regularly in the place of a missing *jer*, as in с’намн (505.10), ѥд’ного (505.16), истнн’ны (505.1), ѱ’то (502.27), в’семъ. Sometimes it also replaces a vowel other than *jer,* as in внднма’го (506.13), палѣ’хѫ (39.7), въишьнѣа’го (120.19).[122] From these forms and also from combinations like снлам’· н навъикнн (504.3-4), it is clear that the apostrophe was meant to represent a full vowel and should be counted as one. Here, however, I must mention Margulies’ observation

[121] Erwin Koschmieder, “Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente,” *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* NF37 (1955), 61-66.

[122] Margulies’s claim that the apostrophe sometimes stands in the place of a missing vowel in a cluster of two *contrasting* vowels does not seem to be supported by the textual evidence.

that the apostrophe also sometimes appears in places where we have a fully assimilated consonant cluster, as in пѡг'ѡ҃ѣва (42.10), бєс'ѵьстна (74.25), въс'пѓотнвъ (34.22), and clearly does not represent a syllable-forming vowel.[123] In these cases, as well as in cases like въпѓашанм'ъ (263.10), пѓавьд'ьннка (529.25), where, according to Margulies, the scribe most likely decided to place a *jer* after he had already written the apostrophe, and in cases like нє бѡ н' нн блг҃дннца (507.12-13), where we can most likely speak of a scribal error, I have not counted the apostrophe as a syllable-forming vowel.[124]

To summarize so far: in calculating the number of syllables in the OCS texts, I have kept to the orthography of the texts, counting all *jers* and the apostrophe (with a few exceptions) as syllable-forming vowels. Combinations of either a front or back *jer* with a vowel produce two syllables, including ън, ьн, ъын, ын. The only exception are the combinations of a *jer* with a *iota* alone (ъı, ы), which are counted as single syllables – in cases like these neither *spiritus asper* nor *spiritus lenis* appear even once over a *iota*.[125]

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[123] Margulies, *Codex Suprasliensis*, 18.

[124] Ivan Dobrev's important observations on the use of the apostrophe must be mentioned here, found in "Starobulgarskite ortografichni otkloneniia," *Izvestiia na Instituta za bulgarski ezik* 16 (1968), 399-410. Dobrev argues that, on the basis of evidence yielded by the use of the apostrophe, one can conclude that the syllabizing (syllable-by-syllable enunciation) of the texts involved not only open but also closed syllables.

[125] I am well aware of Schachmatov's argument that a *jer* in combination with "i" is not a syllable-forming vowel (A. Schachmatov, "Die gespannten (engen) Vokale ь und ъ im Urslavische," *Archiv für*

ACCENT AND STRESS IN THE BYZANTINE GREEK TEXTS

From the question of syllable counts and syllable formation, I will move on to the issue of accent and stress.[126] In counting the Greek stresses, I have taken into consideration not all written accents but the *spoken* stresses only. Since full words in Greek generally take one stress each, I will present below my working guidelines for stressing mono- and disyllabic words only.[127] Of monosyllabic words, the article is not stressed, not even if the lack of a stress would ruin an apparently regular *clausular* rhythm,[128] and neither are monosyllabic prepositions. The relative pronoun, however, does get stressed, as in *τὰ θαυμάσια ἅ ἐποίησε*, which bears 3 spoken stresses. Enclitics are unstressed (and that includes the enclitic forms of the copula), although

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slavische Philologie 31 (1910): 481-506). Shakhmatov's study, however, is too broad and covers too much ground from the Codex Suprasliensis; besides, the use of supralinear signs discussed above speaks against the idea.

[126] I use the term "accent" to refer to written accent and "stress" to refer to spoken stress, regardless of whether there is a written accent or not.

[127] Adopted from Hörandner, *Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner*, 34-35 and Klock, *Gregor von Nyssa*, 298-300.

[128] Dewing ("The Accentual *Cursus*, 415-466). In order to determine the place of spoken stress on mono- and disyllabic words, Dewing examines political verses by Michael Psellos, John Tzetzes, and Constantine Manasses. He concludes that the accentual rhythm is plainly based on the written word accents and that written accents which had a slight, if any, stress in spoken discourse are allowed to stand in *arsi*. He also argues that in cases like *κατεδίωξε τοὺς πολεμίους* nothing will save the accentual *cursus* except counting the accent on the article as the leading *ictus* of the rhythmical unit, as, he says, similar cases in political verse demonstrate. However, it seems to me somewhat far-fetched to allow a full spoken stress on the article just for the sake of regularizing the *clausula* rhythmically. Moreover, we cannot always apply to prose rules that have been extracted from a metrical sequence, since in prose the place of the stress is not predictable. Dewing has the tendency to assume that a piece of prose should be hyper-rhythmical, if it is to be considered rhythmical. We should not forget that variety or change (*μεταβολή*) was valued as one of the main components of rhetorical discourse (as Aristotle comments in his section on prose rhythm in the *Rhetoric* (III.8.1-3). It is also emphasized by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De compositione verborum* 11), and repeated by Michael Psellos, *Rhetorica* 298-302). Therefore I have not counted any stress on the article, even for the sake of rhythm. It is also worth to mention Maas' review ("Historiker Prokopios").

the preceding word may take one or two stresses, depending on its length, as in *τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομά μου* (2 strong stresses, 1 weak (secondary) on omicron) or *ὠφέλειάν τινα* (2 stresses on the main word). *μέν* is usually unstressed and so is *δέ*, except in strong *μὲν/ δέ* oppositions: *οἱ μὲν ἄνω ἔψαλλον* (3 stresses), *οἱ δὲ κάτω ἐκραύγαζον* (3 stresses), *καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐδοξολόγουν* (2 stresses), *οἱ δὲ ἐθεολόγουν* (2 stresses). The negative particle *οὐ*, the conjunctions *ὡς* and *εἰ*, and the comparative particle *ἤ*, which are usually unstressed, can bear an *ictus* if the context calls for it. For example, *οὐ* does become stressed when combined with *δε* or *τε* for emphasis: *οὔτε ἀρξαμένην οὐδὲ προγινομένην* (4 accents); on the other hand, the negative particle *μή* is always stressed. Interrogative pronouns are always stressed, and so are personal pronouns, while the participle *ὤν* is usually unstressed: *πῶς σὺ ἄνθρωπος ὢν ποιεῖς σεαυτὸν θεόν* (6 accents), *ἀλλὰ τί πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ μακρόθυμος* (3 accents). Monosyllabic words like *νῦν* and *αὖ* are unstressed unless the context requires a strong antithetical opposition (or some other kind of emphasis), for example: *οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν*. Of disyllabic words, prepositions generally do not take a spoken stress, but context may dictate a few exceptions, as in *τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιστοῦντα… ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀφὴν καὶ τὴν ὄψιν* (*μετά* takes a regular stress), otherwise *μετὰ γαλήνης* (*μετά* does not take a stress). The prepositions *μετά* and *κατά,* when followed by the accusative, may take a stress, but do not if followed by a genitive. *ἀλλά* does not take a spoken stress; *ἵνα* in a purpose clause generally does. Disyllabic possessive pronouns usually retain their accent: *καὶ τῆς συνέσεως αὐτοῦ* (2 stresses). Ultimately, however, the presence or absence of a spoken stress is to a large extent guided by context: mono- and disyllabic words vary in the degree to which they bear a stress,

depending on their proximity with a word of stronger stress, or depending on how much emphasis is put on them. Below I have listed a few problematic clauses and my solutions, as far as spoken stress (marked with "/" above the line):[129]

/ / / / (4) / / / / (4)
εἰ γὰρ παρῆν, οὐκ ἄν ἠμφισβήτησεν, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀμφέβαλεν, οὐκ ἄν ἐψηλάφησεν,
/ / (2) / / / (3) / / (2) / / /
εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐψηλάφησεν, οὐκ ἄν οὕτως ἐπίστευσεν, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐπίστευσεν, οὐκ ἄν ἡμᾶς οὕτω πιστέυειν
/ (4)
ἐδίδαξεν.

/ / / / / (5)
ὅ δὲ οὐ παρέλαβον, οὔτε λέγειν τολμῶ.
/ / / (3)
ἀκροατῆς γάρ εἰμι θαυμάτων δεσποτικῶν.
/ / / / / / (6)
πρόσελθε τῷ διὰ τὴν σῆν σωτηρίαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσελθόντι…
/ / / / / (5)
οὐδὲ διώκτην κατελείπας εἶναι ὃ ἦν…

This is probably the place to mention that I have not concerned myself with secondary stress, although it certainly did exist in Byzantine Greek as well as in OCS. In a rhythmical text, primary stress is the chief rhythm-bearer, while secondary stress (\ ) serves to slow down the rhythm, as for example in:

\ / / / \ / / / / /
Διὰ σὲ *γὰρ παρεγενόμην πρὸς σέ,* ***διὰ σὲ*** *πάλιν ἐπέστην ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπέστην…*
/ \ / / / / / /
Ἐὰν ***μὴ ἴδω*** *ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ τὸν τύπον τῶν ἥλων, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω.*

In the first sentence the *ictus* falls on the pronoun *se*, and the preposition *dia*, while important enough in this context to bear a full accent of its own, can only have a

[129] I thank Maria Sarinaki (Classics Department, University of Texas at Austin) who helped me determine the place of the stress in questionable phrases.

secondary accent. In the second sentence, the *ictus* falls on the negative *mê*; the verb *idô*, although a major word, bears a secondary accent at best. The effect is one of prolonging the time necessary for the enunciation of the phrases and thus emphasizing their importance.

ACCENT AND STRESS IN THE OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC TEXTS

Unlike the Greek words, the OCS words of the oldest period do not bear written accents. The position of the stress in OCS is a matter of reconstruction on the basis of comparison between accent paradigms in contemporary Slavic languages; where the paradigm is lacking or the form has dropped out of use, the position of the accent is questionable. Therefore, I have not assigned fixed positions to the stresses in the process of counting. I have followed Riccardo Picchio's method[130] of simply counting the total number of stresses per clause, assuming that, for the most part, one major word carries one stress (as I already mentioned, I have not concerned myself with secondary stress). In other words, I have counted all stressed, or rhythm-bearing, units (*taktovye gruppy*[131]).

Picchio's basic principle (one stress per major word) needs to be qualified by recent developments in the field of reconstructive Slavic accentology. As Vladimir

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[130] As outlined in Riccardo Picchio, "The Isocolic Principle in Old Russian Prose" (in *Slavic Poetics: Essays in Honor of Kiril Taranovsky*. The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1973). Picchio argues for the existence of the so-called "isocolic" (isotonic, rather) principle of rhythmic organization in Old Russian prose: strings of clauses containing the same number of accents or forming intricate patterns on the basis of the number of accents they have. He does not fix the place of the accent, but rather counts the number of stressed units per clause.

[131] Dybo's term – see n. 132 below.

Dybo has demonstrated, in the historically common, reconstructed Slavic dialect known as proto-Slavic,[132] certain major words behave as *enclinomena*, that is, they could reflect a displacement or absence of stress.[133] An *enclinomenon*, for example, could transfer its stress onto a clitic, as in бѣсъ жѐ – a phenomenon known as Vasil'ev-Dolobko's law, or it could "lean" accentually on another word and lose its stress altogether. *Enclinomena* are only certain lexical forms of the so-called accentual

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[132] Sometimes also known as Common Slavic, Urslavisch, or praslavianskii, it is the common language spoken by the Slavs before the period of their migration, for perhaps close to 1500 years. Although linguists do not always agree on how to define this proto-language, what name to give it, and where to place it in the history of the Slavic migration, the majority of scholars assume that by the ninth century, proto-Slavic is in its very late phase. Dialectal differentiation had already started at least three to four hundred years prior, and although "one may still speak of Slavic linguistic unity" at the time of the Moravian mission of Cyril and Methodius, as Alexander Schenker says (69; cited below), there were also some real differences, as the manuscript evidence shows. Further reading: Henrik Birnbaum, *Common Slavic: Progress and Problems in Its Reconstruction* (Cambridge, MA: Slavica, 1975); see also Vladimir Dybo's introduction to the Russian translation of Birnbaum's book: *Praslavianskii iazyk: dostizheniia i problemy v ego rekonstruktsii* (Moskva: Progress, 1987), 5-16; see also Alexander M. Schenker, *The Dawn of Slavic: An Introduction to Slavic Philology* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).

[133] Vladimir Dybo, "O frazovykh modifikatsiiakh udareniia v praslavianskom," *Sovetskoe slavianovedenie* 6 (1971): 78-84 – Dybo's argument is based on comparative evidence from both Eastern and Western Slavic languages; also helpful are: "Zakon Vasil'eva-Dolobko i aktsentuatsiia form glagola v drevnerusskom i srednebolgarskom," *Voprosy iazykosnaniia* 20, no. 2 (1971): 93-114; and "Imennoe udarenie v srednebolgarskom i zakon Vasil'eva-Dolobko" in *Slavianskoe i balkanskoe iazykoznanie: antichnaia balkanistika i sravnitel'naia grammatika* (Moskva: Nauka, 1977): 189-272. Also by Dybo on proto-Slavic accent, see "Aktsentnye tipy derivatov v praslavianskom i pravila ikh porozhdeniia" and "Udarenie praslavianskogo glagola i cardinal'nyi printsip postroeniia bal'to-slavianskoi aktsentnoi sistemy" in *Slavianskaia aktsentologiia: opyt rekonstruktsii sistemy aktsentnykh paradigm v praslavianskom* (Moskva: Nauka, 1981): 55-262; "Drevnerusskie teksty kak istochnik dlia rekonstruktsii praslavianskogo udareniia," *Voprosy iazykoznaniia* 18, no. 6 (1969): 114-122; "Srednebolgarskie teksty kak istochnik dla rekonstruktsii praslavianskogo udareniia," *Voprosy iazykoznaniia* 18, no. 3 (1969): 82-101; also see Vladimir Dybo, G. I. Zamiatina and S. L. Nikolaev. *Osnovy slavianskoi aktsentologii* (Moskva: Nauka, 1990). A very useful and accessible introduction to the topic of reconstructive accentology one can find in David Birnbaum, "On the Methods of Analyzing Accented Slavic Manuscripts," *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 34 (1986): 123-142 as well as in David Birnmaum, *Textual and Accentual Problems of Muz. 3070 and Zogr. 151* (Ph. D. dissertation: Harvard University, 1988); an introduction to Slavic accentology in general and Russian in particular can be found in A. A. Zalizniak, *Ot praslavianskoi aktsentuatsii k russkoi* (Moskva: Nauka, 1985).

paradigm "c," which is comprised of nouns (as well as the adjectives derived from those nouns) and verbs (as well as participles) that may lose their stress – usually in the oblique cases for nouns and in certain forms of the singular for verbs. The loss of stress happens in the following circumstances: 1) an *enclinomenon* is preceded or followed by clitics – in which case the stress is displaced either onto an enclitic (as in каль же́) or on the first syllable of the first proclitic (as in не́ на рукоу).[134] 2) An *enclinomemon* is preceded or followed by an *orthotonic* adjective (that is, an adjective bearing a strong, independent stress), in which case it loses its stress altogether, as in въ доушоу жи́воу.[135]

In the first case, the *enclinomenon* and its adjacent clitic(s) would form a single accentual unit, with one spoken stress (in Dybo's terms, this would be the highest point of the accentual contour). Likewise, the combination of an *orthotonic* word (a word with an independent stress) and a clitic (or a number of clitics) would form one accentual unit, with one spoken stress. A string of clitics on their own would also form a single accentual unit, with the stress falling on the leftmost, according to Dybo's law,[136] as for example in по́ что ли ма. Therefore, I have regarded a combinations of clitic(s) plus major word as one accentual unit, bearing one spoken

[134] Birnbaum, "Methods of Analyzing Manuscripts," 131; Dybo, "O frazovykh modifikatsiiakh," 80.

[135] Dybo, "O frazovykh modifikatziiakh," 80. On *enclinomena* as verbs, verbal forms and nouns, see Dybo, "Zakon Vasil'eva-Dolobko i aktsentuatsiia form glagola" and "Imennoe udarenie v srednebolgarskom i zakon Vasil'eva-Dolobko."

stress. An independent string of clitics also counts for one accentual unit. The following types of words are clitics – or, at any rate, behave like clitics: particles, such as же, бо, ли as well as the reflexive particle ся;[137] conjunctions like и and иъ, and the negative particle не; monosyllabic singular forms of the personal pronouns in the oblique cases (мѧ, тѧ, н, ѥ, тн, etc.);[138] certain nominative forms of the personal pronouns (тъı, мъı, въı); the demonstrative pronouns тъ, съ, овъ;[139] the interrogative pronouns кътѡ and чьтѡ; and others.[140] The conjunctions/particles аще and ꙗкѡ, the relative pronoun иже, and the conjunction/adverb ієже also behave like clitics.[141] In contrast, personal and demonstrative pronouns that do *not* behave like clitics are: азъ, мене, тебе, онъ, она, ова, та, сиѧ.[142] Likewise, all forms of the copula (єстъ, бѣ, бѣаше, бъıтн, etc.) bear independent stress, except for the 2nd and 3rd person singular

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[136] Dybo, *Slavianskaia aktsentologiia*, 261; Birnbaum, *Textual and Accentual Problems*, 145, provides a very accessible summary.

[137] Dybo, "Imennoe udarenie v srednebolgarskom," 241ff; "Zakon Vasil'eva-Dolobko i aktsentuatsiia form glagola," 93-94.

[138] Dybo, "Imennoe udarenie," 251-56.

[139] *Ibid.,* 251-52.

[140] For a full list of words that behave accentually as clitics, refer to Dybo, "Imennoe udarenie."

[141] Dybo, *Slavianskaia aktsentologiia*, 46-53.

[142] For a full list, see Dybo, "Imennoe udarenie," 257-63.

of the subjunctive mood (бн).[143] The conjunction/particle ѡубо is an example of an *orthotonic* particle.[144] What is important to remember is that *enclinomena* behave as normally stressed words[145] in all cases except for the ones listed above, and that clitics are unstressed in all cases except for the ones listed. Since, in order to count the total number of stresses per clause, the exact position of the stress makes no difference, the above rules are simply guidelines for determining stress unit boundaries.

The second case – when an *enclinomenon* loses its stress to an adjacent word, usually an adjective with an independent stress – is more complicated. Generally that happens with accentual paradigm "c" nouns in the oblique cases; some of the more commonly used nouns that belong to this paradigm are: дѹхъ, богъ, мнѣ, дѹша, кѣвъ, etc.[146] Therefore, I have omitted their accusative and dative lexical forms – only when combined with an adjective – from my stress counts. In all other contexts, for statistical purposes, these words bear a full stress.

Finally, mono- and disyllabic prepositions (съ, отъ, пѣдъ, надъ, въ, etc.) are unstressed. Here are some examples of how the above guidelines can be put into practice:

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[143] Dybo, "Zakon Vasil'eva-Dolobko i aktsentuatsiia form glagola," 94.

[144] *Ibid.*, 53.

[145] To be more precise, accentual paradigm "c" words bear a weaker stress than orthotonic words, a result of intonational changes within the word – see Dybo, *Slavianskaia aktsentologiia*, 1-54.

не бо нѵтоже трѡнца (3 stresses)

не бо нн наѹ҃номо нн прнбъıваіѫ҃ште (3 stresses)

како тъı ѵловѣкъ съı самъ сѧ творнш богъ (5 stresses)

ꙗко нже сѧ мене ослоу҃шаіетъ (3 stresses)

да а҃ште к'то хоштетъ прнстѫпнтн (3 stresses)

As a rule, wherever I have run into phrases and word combinations whose stresses I have not been able to determine, I have omitted the entire clause from the statistics – this applies to both Greek and OCS. Therefore, in my analyses of the average number of stresses and syllables, the total number of counted clauses for the same text may differ in the two languages, as well as in the stress and syllable charts (see Appendix).

It is also important to remember that stress rules can always yield to context and overall rhythmical organization. For example, as Krassimira Kostova has demonstrated recently,[147] OCS translations of collections of prayers and of the Psalter and the Gospels display intricate rhythmical structures that govern the number of stresses per line – which implies that the demands of the overall rhythm and not common usage determine the positions of the stress. Therefore, in my own work I have tried to be sensitive to the context as much as I have followed the guidelines.

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[146] For a full list of paradigm "c" nouns, see Zalizniak, *Ot praslavianskoi aktsentuatsii k russkoi*, 137-140.
[147] Krassimira Kostova, "Ritmichni strukturi v starobulgarski glagolicheski pametnitsi," *Kirilo-Metodievski studii* 11 (1998): 125-215 and "Ritmichni skhemi v Sinaiskiia Evkhologii," *Kirilo-Metodievski studii* 8 (1991): 121-138. Kostova uses Picchio's principle of counting one stress per major word.

TEXT COMPARISON

The comparison of the Greek and the OCS texts according to the working principles outlined above produce the following statistical results:

1. For (pseudo-) Chrysostom's *Homily on the Saturday of Lazarus*, approximately 17% of all clauses show the same number of syllables in the OCS as in Greek, and about 32% show a difference of 1 syllable. Since 1 syllable per clause is a very small deviation, we could say that about 50% of all clauses have approximately the same number of syllables in the OCS as in the Greek. Of the rest, 25% show a difference of 2 syllables, 10% a difference of 3 syllables, and 16% a difference of four or more syllables. The average syllable deviation of the OCS translation from the Greek original is 1.89 syllables per clause if we take the results very strictly (that is, we assume that a deviation of 1 syllable is substantial), but if we look at them in approximation (that is, we assume that 0 to 1 syllable difference represents no deviation), the average deviation is 1.57 syllables per clause. With regard to stresses, 79% of clauses show the same number in OCS as in Greek.

2. (Pseudo-) Chrysostom's *Homily on Palm Sunday* shows that about 17% of all clauses have an identical number of syllables and 31% differ with 1 syllable; therefore, about 48% of all clauses have approximately the same number of syllables in the OCS as in the Greek. 22% differ with 2 syllables, 15% with 3 syllables, and 16% with 4 and more syllables. The strict average deviation of the OCS translation is

1.9 syllables per clause, the approximate deviation (that is, if we disregard a difference of 1 syllable) is 1.59. With regard to stresses, 83% of all clauses show the same figures.

3. The figures for (pseudo-) Chrysostom's *Homily on Great and Holy Pascha* are the following: 18% of clauses have the same number of syllables; 53% show a difference of 0 to 1 syllable; 19% a difference of 2 syllables; 12% a difference of 3 syllables; and 16% a difference of 4 and more syllables; the average syllable deviation per clause is 1.73 (strict) and 1.47 (approximate). 78% of all clauses show the same number of stresses in the OCS as in the Greek.

4. In Proclus' *Homily on the Sunday of Thomas* 17% of all clauses show the same number of syllables; 49% differ with 0 to 1 syllable; 24% with 2 syllables; 12% with 3 syllables; and 14% with 4 or more syllables; and the average syllable deviation is 1.95 (strict) and 1.63 (approximate). 67% of clauses show the same number of stresses.

5. Epiphanius' *Homily on the Entombment of Christ and Descent into Hades*, of which I examined only half because of its length, yielded the following figures: 17% of clauses have the same number of syllables; 49% differ with 0 to 1 syllable; 23% with 2 syllables; 16% with 3 syllables and 12% with 4 or more syllables. 87% of all clauses have the same number of stresses. For more detailed figures and flow charts, refer to the Appendix.

In sum, the OCS translations show that approximately half of all clauses (41% to 53%) deviate from the Greek originals with zero to one syllable; between 19% and

25% deviate with two syllables; 9% to 16% with three syllables; and a consistent 15% (plus or minus one percent, save for one homily, which shows 12%) with four or more syllables. The average deviation of the translations from the original texts is about a syllable and a half (1.47 to 1.7) per clause. By far the great majority (67% to 87 %) of the clauses carry the same number of stresses in both languages.

CONTROL TEXTS

These figures, however impressive, would not, by themselves, indicate whether the OCS translation upheld any rhythmical standards, unless compared against a reliable control text in order to rule out the possibility of linguistic coincidence. A control text, in this case, would be an OCS translation of a "non-rhythmical" text from the same time period. By "non-rhythmical" I mean a text that would not have been performed in front of an audience and, thus, would not necessarily have conformed to the rules of prose rhythm. Examples of non-rhythmical – or rather, less rhythmical – texts would be philosophy, theology, or legal documents. The two tenth-century OCS texts of this kind that I have used as control texts are John the Exarch's compilation *The Hexaemeron*, as published with parallel-running Greek text by Rudolph Aitzetmüller,[148] and John the Exarch's

[148] Rudolf Aitzetmüller, *Das* Hexaemeron *des Exarchen Iohannes* (Monumenta linguae slavicae dialecti veteris, vols. I, II, III, VI, XVII). Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1958-75.

translation of *De fide orthodoxa* by John of Damascus, as published with the parallel-running Greek text by Linda Sadnik.[149]

The *Hexaemeron* is a compilation of texts on the six-day act of creation, authored by St. Basil of Caesarea, Severian of Gabala, and Theodoret of Cyrus, put together and translated by John the Exarch, and dating from shortly before Symeon's accession. Aitzetmüller's edition publishes a transcript of the oldest extant manuscript (1263) and offers a parallel reconstruction of the tenth-century text.[150] The Greek originals are printed from Migne's *Patrologia Graeca.* Since the thirteenth-century manuscript is a Serbian copy of an older Bulgarian manuscript and contains quite a few Serbisms along with spelling changes,[151] I have followed Aitzetmüller's reconstructed text rather than the transcript. Admittedly, comparing a reconstructed OCS text with a text from the *Patrologia Graeca* (which may or may not have been the original Greek text used by John the Exarch) is bound to produce more errors than a

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[149] Linda Sadnik, *Des hl. Johannes von Damascus Ἔκθεσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως in der Übersetzung des Exarchen Johannes* (Monumenta linguae slavicae dialecti veteris, vols. V, XIV, XVI, XVII). Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1967-83. John the Exarch's translation of *De fide orthodoxa* is also known in later manuscripts as *Bogoslovie* (= Theology) or *Nebesa* (= Heavens).

[150] Aitzetmüller reprints Bodjanskij's transcription (*Shestodnev sostavlennyi Ioannom Eksarkhom bolgarskim; Po kharateinomu spisku Moskovskoi sinodal'noi biblioteki 1263 goda; Slovo v slovo i bukva v bukvu* (Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete, kn. 5). Moskva: 1879) of the oldest extant manuscript, and includes the corrections made by A. N. Popov in his introduction. The 1263 manuscript is, according to Aitzetmüller, in such bad shape that work with it is not quite possible. Aitzetmüller's reconstruction of the text is based on five additional manuscripts, dating from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

[151] Cf. Aitzetmüller, (*Das Hexaemeron,* viii-xi): the scribe has regularly substituted ѡ҆, ѭ, є, ѥ for ѿ, ѩ, ѧ, ѩ, and ѡ҆- for въ-, etc. Aitzetmüller cites this, as well as omissions from the 1263 text, as a reason for the need for reconstruction. He professes to attempt to bring the text up to OCS standards, but has not concerned himself with minor spelling details, such as front or back *jer*, nor with minor word order changes.

comparison of the Greek and OCS texts in Zaimov and Capaldo's edition; therefore, the results should be taken cautiously.

Although for the most part the Exarch's translation is true to the Greek original, it is also marked by a degree of freedom not present in the homily translations. Often he has rendered the sense of the Greek without keeping very closely to the exact expression: for example, *ὅπως δι' ὧν πάσχουσι μάθωσιν ὡς σχέτλιον καὶ παμπόνερον τὸ παραβαίνειν τὴν τάξην* he has rendered with ꙗкоже да иже самн творѧтъ то отъ того разоумѣѭтъ колнко зъло иестъ иже свон ѵннъ комоужьдо прѣстѫпатн; *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔμοιγε ἁρμόττειν τόνδε νῦν τὸν λόγον ὑπείληφα* is translated as то нынѣ нѣстъ то нн на кѫіѫже потрѣбѫ, and *φύσιν ἄσυλον διετήρησε* as иестьство [...] н доселн хранитъ. Moreover, occasionally the OCS text differs from the Greek to an extent which cannot be explained by translation freedom – important words, and sometimes whole clauses, are omitted. It suggests that the Greek texts the Exarch used were somewhat different from the ones published by Migne. In those cases, I have omitted the extra clauses from my statistics; I have also omitted any clauses that differ considerably between the two languages.

In addition, the OCS text shows another interesting phenomenon, which – unfortunately – tends to obscure the results. Abstract philosophical concepts and difficult terms tend to be set off in very short clauses, consisting of one to two words that are usually calqued from the Greek. Such is the case, for example, with the

attributes of God in *De fide orthodoxa*.[152] This practice probably means that the punctuation marks were meant to give the reader enough of a pause to be able to think through the highly abstract and often unfamiliar concepts. For my purposes, however, this produces a great number of clauses with very similar syllable and stress counts.

With all these stipulations in place, the results I obtained for a sample of approximately 100 clauses are the following: about 17% clauses show no syllable deviation from the Greek, if we add to that the number of clauses which deviate with 1 syllable, the percentage goes up to 37%. Of the rest, 31% deviate with 4 or more syllables, 11% with 3 syllables, and 21% with 2 syllables. The average syllable deviation per clause is 2.77 (strict) and 2.57 (approximate). 54% of all clauses show the same number of accents.

Quite similar are the results I obtained from an excerpt of about the same length from John the Exarch's translation of *De fide orthodoxa*. Sadnik's edition reprints Bodjanskij's transcription of the oldest (thirteenth century) Slavonic manuscript containing the translation,[153] with a critical apparatus compiled from nine manuscripts dating from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Unlike Aitzetmüller, Sadnik has not attempted to reconstruct the tenth-century language of

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[152] Sadnik, *Des hl. Johannes von Damascus*, 36-38.

[153] O. M. Bodjanskij, *Bogoslovie sviatago Ioanna Damaskina v perevode Ioanna Ekzarkha Bolgarskago, po kharateinomu spisku Moskovskoi Sinodal'noi Biblioteki bukva v bukvu i slovo v slovo* (Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete, kn. 4) Moskva: 1878), with an introduction and corrections made by A. N. Popov.

the original; the transcript is in the thirteenth-century Russian recension. The Greek text is supplied from Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.[154] In deciding on the clause divisions, I have followed a fourteenth-century manuscript facsimile,[155] reproduced by Sadnik as the oldest manuscript currently available for microfilming. Like the translation of the *Hexaemeron*, *De fide orthodoxa* shows much more freedom in rendering the Greek into Slavonic than the homilies: single words may be rendered with whole phrases; one term may be substituted for another – sometimes for clarity; and difficult concepts may be occasionally simplified; at times, however, there are instances of bad translation. [156] In addition to that, the OCS text was, in all probability, based on a manuscript produced by a different textual tradition than the one printed in Migne. Apparently, one such translation would not make a very reliable control text either, especially given the numerous omissions, inadequacies, and errors of all kinds. However, the results from the *Hexaemeron* and *De fide orthodoxa* taken together could

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[154] According to Sadnik, finding the exact Greek ancestor of the OCS translation would be a "hopeless undertaking," since the number of extant manuscripts containing John of Damascus' writings is exceedingly large: the Center for Research on the Work and Person of John of Damascus at the Scheyern Benedictine Abbey has 141 manuscripts, of which only one dates back to the ninth century and is the basis for Migne's text. The *Bogoslovie*, however, deviates from Migne's text in quite a few places. The Vatican Library possesses later manuscripts that contain a version closer to the Slavonic – Sadnik attributes them to a different textual tradition (*Des hl. Johannes von Damascus*, xvi-xvii).

[155] Manuscript No. 141 from the Collection of the Troitse-Sergieva Lavra in the Moscow State Library.

[156] For an analysis of translation errors in the *Bogoslovie,* see A. Leskien ("Die Übersetzungskunst des Exarchen Johannes," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 25 (1903): 48-66): apart from errors which could be attributed to a bad Greek original, Leskien also finds terminology inconsistencies, on the basis of which he suggests that the *Bogoslovie* may have been the work of several translators overseen by the Exarch. Sadnik (*Des hl. Johannes von Damascus*, x) attributes the lack of literal accuracy to the Exarch's unique translation style, and terminology inconsistencies – to his desire to render the Greek as clearly as possible.

give us at least a basis for comparison. I have only used the parts that correspond strictly to the Greek, and omitted unacceptably dissimilar phrases or passages. The results are the following: 13% of clauses have the same number of syllables in both languages, 28% deviate with 1 syllable, 20% with 2 syllables, 16% with 3 syllables, and 23% with 4 or more syllables. The strict syllable deviation is 2.5 syllables, approximate – 2.22 syllables per clause. Roughly 50% of all stresses are the same in both languages.

I will stress once again that these two texts make very imperfect control texts. They are reprinted from thirteenth-century manuscripts, which are not even in the original recension; they also may be based on a textual tradition different than Migne's texts. In addition, most of the clauses tend to be very short, owing to the texts' difficulty. Such clause length is not likely to produce accurate numbers, as far as syllable and stress differences. However, I have not been able to find better control texts from the same period.

Partly because the texts of the two translations by John the Exarch are, for my purposes, not quite up to the standards of Zaimov and Capaldo's edition, and partly in order to have a broader range of texts for comparison, I have also used part of the *Life of St. Konon the Isaurian* as a control text – or perhaps I should say, a comparison. A *vita* from the Codex Suprasliensis would, unfortunately, not be a suitable control text either, though for different reasons: parts of saints' *Lives* were meant to be read aloud during the services, or – in a monastic setting – during meals or daily lessons, and they were composed with oral performance in mind. They would not, however,

have been performed in the same way as a homily, and certainly would not have been memorized. The parts that were most likely to have been read aloud are the beginning and the end. I have, therefore, chosen a random segment of about 100 clauses from the middle of St. Konon's very long *Vita*, which – due to its length – was probably not read in its entirety. Despite these differences, the results are somewhat similar to those obtained from the translations of the Exarch: about 16% of all clauses show a zero syllable difference; if we include in that number the clauses deviating with only 1 syllable, the percentage goes up to 34%; 23% differ with 2 syllables, 13% with 3 syllables, and 32% with 4 or more syllables. The average syllable deviation from Greek is 2.81 (strict) and 2.63 (average) syllables per clause. 58% of all clauses show the same number of accents in both languages.

Despite the imperfections of the control texts and the many stipulations I have made with regard to their use, the comparison with the homilies yields the following results: between 13% and 17% of clauses in the control texts show no syllable deviation from the original; the same relation for the homilies is between 17% and 20%. If we add the clauses differing with 1 syllable, the control texts would show between 34% and 41%, while the homilies 48% to 53%. The combined percentage of clauses deviating with 2, 3, 4, and more syllables in the control texts varies between 59% and 68%, while in the homilies it is between 47% and 53%. The average syllable deviation varies between 2.5(strict)/2.22(non-strict) and 2.81(strict)/2.57(non-strict) for the control texts and 1.73(strict)/1.47(non-strict) and 1.95(strict)/1.63(non-strict) for the homilies. The picture becomes more obvious in the case of stresses: while the

amount of identical stresses varies between 50% and 58% in the control texts, the homilies show 67% to 89%. These numbers can lead to the following conclusions: although the number of clauses with identical syllables is almost the same (mean of 15% for the control texts, 17.25% for the homilies), there is a significant difference between the number of clauses differing with 0 to 1 syllable (mean of 37% for the control texts and 50% for the homilies), as well as between the combined number of clauses differing with 2, 3, 4, and more syllables (mean of 63.66% in the control texts and 50% in the homilies). An average of 54% of all clauses in the control texts and 78% in the homilies show the same number of stresses.

Thus, it appears that the Slavonic translators of the homilies did strive to preserve both the same number of syllables per clause and the same number of accents as in the Greek originals. Although they did not succeed in matching the syllable counts exactly (with a zero-syllable difference from clause to clause), they appear to have attempted to preserve the syllable numbers of the originals as much as possible (since the control texts show a much greater occurrence of syllable deviation of four and more syllables). With regard to stresses, the numbers reflecting the differences between the control texts and the homilies are decidedly much higher – which is not very surprising. The OCS translators adhered to the principle of word-for-word translation (*poslovnyi printsip perevoda*)[157] of religious texts,[158] inasmuch as

[157] E. M. Vereshchagin demonstrates that on the basis of excerpts from the Gospels and from liturgical texts in "Perevodcheskaia tekhnika Kirilla i Mefodiia" (in *Iz istorii vozniknoveniia pervogo literaturnogo iazyka slavian.* Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1971). In his analysis of passages from the Codex Marianus and Savvina Kniga, Vershchagin insists that the word is to be understood as a morphological unit. For a summary of research on OCS translation, see Antonina

this was possible without losing the meaning of the original. As the term suggests, this method differs from modern, sentence-based translation in that the basic principle is equivalence of the word. The word-for-word translation principle was most likely initiated by the brothers Cyrill and Methodius (who probably followed the literal translation model of the Greek Septuagint translation) and reflected the status of the Gospel texts and those of hymns and liturgies. It is important to note, however, that for Cyril and Methodius this principle always yielded to context, that is, meaning was held more valuable than strict adherence to the original.[159] Nevertheless, this principle does not come even close to contemporary translation principles, but affects mostly words and phrases within the sentence. Thus, the OCS translations are rendered in a language as close to the original Greek as possible while producing a grammatically meaningful translation; paraphrases and variations

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Filonov-Gove, *The Slavic Akathistos Hymn: Poetic Elements of the Byzantine Text and Its Old Church Slavonic Translation* (München: Otto Sagner, 1988), 75-81 and 152-55 also Ernst Hansack, "Zum Übersetzungsstil des Exarchen Johannes," *Die Welt der Slaven* 24 (1979): 121-71.

[158] Vereshchagin ("Perevodcheskaia tekhnika," 13) argues that in translating homilies and hagiographic material the translators felt free to deviate somewhat from the original, yet my own observations on the homiletic material of the Codex Suprasliensis are quite to the contrary. In both genres we can see a very strict lexical and grammatical correspondence between Greek and OCS. The translations of the *Hexaemeron* and *De fide orthodoxa* by John the Exarch, however, handle the original with much more freedom – something noted by the Exarch himself in his famous *Foreword* to the translation of John of Damascus, where he implores the reader not to find fault with his translation just because he has not used words exactly corresponding to the Greek.

[159] Cyril's translation philosophy has been partially recovered from the so-called Macedonian Leaf, published in 1863 by I. I. Sreznevski. The text is now believed to have been authored in Greek by Cyril, but translated into OCS by one of his disciples. It discusses grammatical issues like gender and the choice of equivalent words in the original and the target language, and it ends on the recommendation to translate according to the meaning, not mere linguistic equivalency. See Angelina Mincheva, "Za teksta na Makedonskiia kirilski list i negoviia avtor," *Starobulgarska literatura* 9 (1981): 3-19.

in word order are rare.[160] Obviously, to adhere to this method and at the same time render the rhythmical structure of a text into a language completely unrelated to the source would be very demanding on a translator, and would require a very good stock of synonyms as well as lexical flexibility. Given that OCS words are, on average, longer than Greek, it is not reasonable to expect an exact correspondence in syllable numbers for long, non-versified texts – even though the tendency is apparent. On the other hand, it would be much easier to preserve the stress counts: both OCS and Greek use basically one stress per major word. Nevertheless, the difference in figures between the homilies and the control texts speak of a definite attempt to adhere very closely to the rhythm of the Greek originals.

PROSE RHYTHM IN OLD SLAVIC TEXTS

The role of stress in achieving prose rhythm in OCS has long been noted: Picchio's discovery of the existence of the so-called "isocolic" structures in Old Russian texts,[161] that is, series – or alternating series – of clauses bearing the same

[160] On translation errors and the quality of translation in the Codex Suprasliensis as a whole, see A. Leskien, "Zur Kritik des altkirchenslavicshen Codex Suprasliensis," *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 27 (1909): 445-65 and Karl H. Meyer, „Altkirchenslavische Studien. I. Fehlübersetzungen im Codex Suprasliensis," *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft* 15/16 (1939/1940): 63-96. Meyer argues (against Leskien) that most of the translation errors in the codex are due to optical (misreading) or phonetic (homophony) reasons, and only a small number of the errors are due to an actual misunderstanding of the text.

[161] Riccardo Picchio, "The Isocolic Principle."

number of stresses or forming complex regularly stressed patterns,[162] although initially disputed,[163] has now been, for the most part, accepted and elaborated in further studies of OCS sources.[164] Picchio's findings range from narrative to homiletic to poetic texts:

По мнозехъ /же времянѣх /сѣли суть /словѣни /по Дунаеви/	5
Гдѣ есть /ныне /Угорьска /земля /и Болгарьска/	5
И от тѣхъ /словѣнъ/	2
Разидошася /по землѣ/	2
И прозвашася /имѣны /своими/	3
Гдѣ сѣдше /на которомъ /мѣстѣ/…[165]	3

(After a long time the Slavs settled along the Danube river
where now lie the Hungarian and the Bulgarian lands
and from there they moved all over the land
and took for their own names
the names of the places where they settled…)

Picchio analyses this passage from the *Nestor Chronicle* in the following way: the longest isocolic combination (first two lines) introduces a historic-geographical description; at the end of both clauses we find a geographical name that lays the logical emphasis of the sentence. A series of short clauses follows after that, which

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[162] It would be, perhaps, more accurate to refer to this principle as "isotonic" rather than isocolic.

[163] For a summary of the issue, see Ingunn Lunde, *Verbal Celebrations: Kirill of Turov's Homiletic Rhetoric and Its Byzantine Sources* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001): 134-39.

[164] For an insightful general discussion, see Krassimir Stanchev, *Poetika na starobulgarskata literatura: osnovni printsipi i problemi* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1982): 144-65, also *Stilistika i zhanrove na starobulgarskata literatura* (Sofia: Prosveta, 1995): 65-78. For a detailed study of the isocolic principle in early OCS sources, see Kostova, "Ritmichni skhemi v Sinaiskiia Evkhologii" and "Ritmichni strukturi v starobulgarski glagolicheski pametnitsi;" also on the subject, Boriana Velcheva, "Povtorenie, blagozvuchie, ritum" (*Palaeobulgarica* 28, no. 2 (2004): 45-54.

[165] Picchio, "Isocolic Principle," 305-06.

mark the beginning of a long list of tribes and their location. In this excerpt we have an alternation of two lines of identical isocola. Another excerpt, Hilarion's encomium of Prince Vladimir in his *Homily on Law and Grace,* shows a pattern of alternating clauses with 2 and 3 stresses:

Встани /о честнаа /главо/	3
Отъ гроба/ твоего/	2
Встани/ отряси/ сонъ/	3
Нѣси/ бо умерлъ/…[166]	2

(Rise o righteous leader
from your grave
rise shake off the sleep
for you are not dead…)

A long string (22) of equally stressed clauses (of which I am only quoting the beginning) appears in *Slovo o pogibeli russkoi zemli* (*Lament on the Ruin of the Russian Land*), a work often regarded as poetic, although a strict pattern of versification has not been established yet:

О свѣтло/ свѣтлая/	2
И украсно/ украшена/	2
Земля/ Руськая/	2
и многыми/ красотами/	2
удивлена/ еси/…[167]	2

(O luminously luminous
and ornately ornamented
land of Rus!

With many charms
you have been amazingly lavished…)

[166] *Ibid.,* 315.

Picchio's model[168] has been carried further in Kostova's study of the glagolitic Sinai *Euchologion*, Sinai Psalter, Codex Assemanianus (*Asemanievo evangelie*), and Codex Marinianus (*Mariino evangelie*). She classifies the isocolic structures into simple (series of successive clauses with up to 10 stresses) and complex (alternating series and framed series). The rhythmical series, she says, could be as simple as a+b+b+a or a+b+a+b, or as sophisticated as a+b/c+d/e+f+f+e/c+d/a+b or a+b+c/d/a+b+c or a+b+c/b+b/a+b+c.[169] For example:

Мо҃ѣ бо естъ въселєнаа ї исплъннье єі҃а:~	5
Єда ѣмь мі҃са юнъуа:	4
Λн кр҃ъвъ козлі҃ѫ пі҃ѫ:~	3
Пожъри б҃ѹ жр҃ътв҃ѫ хвалі҃ѫ:	4
Ї въздаждъ вышьнюмѹ об҃ѣты твоі҃а:~	4
Ї пр҃нзовн мі҃а въ дєнъ пєуалі твоєі҃а:	5
Ї нзбавлі҃ѫ ті҃а н прославншн мі҃а:~	4
Гр҃ѣшънникѹ рєує б҃г:[170]	3

(Ps. 50 RSV, numbered 48 in the Sinai Psalter)

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[167] *Ibid.,* 320.

[168] Lunde (*Verbal Celebrations*, 135-36) asks whether it is not "exactly the orientation of the texts towards *rhetorical declamation* and *performance* that implies the extended use of isocolic structure. Symmetry of sentence arrangement, frequent reiterations of parallel elements in a specific rhythmical pattern, including *isokola* and *homoioteleuta*, synonymous couplings, alliterations and assonances are clearly present in the texts analyzed by Picchio, and … a search for 'series of sentences with equal numbers of stresses' … seems, in many cases, to be overstating an obvious fact and clothing it in a theoretical pattern." It seems to me that Lunde herself overstates the presence of the so enumerated rhetorical devices, of which only syntactical parallelisms, lists, and *isokola* would tend to produce the same number of accents – without doubt, they appear frequently in rhetorical texts, but their use should not be overestimated. Besides, Picchio's examples are more diverse than that. See also below the examples brought by Kostova.

[169] Kostova, "Ritmichni strukturi," 136-37.

[170] *Ibid.,* 173.

(For the world and all that is in it is Mine.
Do I eat the flesh of bulls or drink the blood of goats?
Offer to God a sacrifice of thanksgiving
and pay your vows to the Most High
and call upon Me in the day of trouble
I will deliver you and you shall glorify Me.
But to the wicked God says…)

Stanchev regards the isocolic stress principle as the most fundamental rhythm-building principle in OCS rhetorical texts, a "setting" for the foregrounding of other rhetorical devices. Accentual isocolism, he argues, achieves a "*vertical,*" or *paradigmatic* rhythmical arrangement, on the basis of which the rhetorical meaning of the text is generated.[171] Thus, given the importance of stress numbers, it is not surprising that the correspondence between Greek and OCS should be so high. It is significant, however, that there is an effort to preserve the syllabic counts as well. The statistical figures only show the average distribution of stress and syllabic correspondence; my own observations are that the correspondence fluctuates depending on the rhythmicity of the Greek original – something I argue in more detail in Chapter 4. In other words, highly rhythmical parts are usually translated with much more care to preserve the syllable and stress counts than are less rhythmical parts – something that the overall statistics cannot show very well. For example, it is reasonable to expect that a homily's opening, aimed at capturing the audience's attention, would be rather rhythmical, and so the syllable/stress

[171] Stanchev, *Poetika*, 161-65.

correspondence in the translations is usually very high. This, for example, is how *Homily on Palm Sunday* begins:

> *Ἐκ θαυμάτων ἐπὶ τὰ θαύματα τοῦ κυρίου βαδίσωμεν ἀδελφοί·* (21 syll/5 str) *καὶ φθάσωμεν ὡς ἐκ δυνάμεως εἰς δύναμιν·* (14 syll/3 str) *καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἁλύσει χρυσῇ·* (10 syll/3 str) *κρικίοις ἀλληλενδέτοις συμβεβλημένῃ·* (13 syll/3 str) *ἕν τοῦ ἑνός κατέχεται τῶν συμβεβλημένων·* (14 syll/4 str) *ἕκαστον συνάπτεταί τε θάτερον θατέρῳ·* (14 syll/4 str) *καὶ παραπέμπεται·* (6 syll/1 str) *οὕτω καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων θαύματα·* (16 syll/4 str) *ἐξ ἀλλήλων εἰς ἄλληλα ποδηγοῦσι·* (12 syll/3 str) *τὴν φιλέορτον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν και εὐφραίνουσιν·* (17 syll/4 str) *οὐ τῇ ἀπολλυμένῃ βρώσει·* (9 syll/2 str) *ἀλλὰ τῇ μενούσῃ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον·* (13 syll/ 3 str)
>
> Отъ оудесъ къ оудесемъ̀ господьнемъ ходнмъ братнꙗ· (21 syll/5 str) и̑ дои̑дѣмъ а̑къı о̑тъ снлъı на снлѫ· (14 syll/3 str) ꙗ̑коже бо вь̀ вергнахъ златахъ· (12 syll/3 str) рнтокъı дроугъ дроузъ сьплетенъ· (11 syll/4 str) ꙗ̑дно ꙗ̑дного дръжнтъ сѧ сьплетенъıи̑хъ [коиѣждо][172]· (15 syll/4 str) съвъкоуплено же коиѣждо коиѣмь̀ждо· (13 syll/3 str) и̑ продльжаиѣмо ꙗ̑естъ· (8 syll/2 str) и̑ снце и̑ сѧтъıи̑хъ е̑уа̑ггѣлнн оудеса· (16 syll/ 4 str) дроугъ о̑тъ дроуга направьıаѭтъ· (12 syll/3 str) праздь̀ннкомь̀ любнвѫи̑ црь̀к’ве христовѫ веселѧтъ· (19 syll/5 str) не погъıбаѭштеи̑ѭ пнштеи̑ѭ· (10 syll/2 str) нъ прѣбъıваѭштеи̑ѭ въ жнзнь̀ вѣуьнѫи̑ѭ· (14 syll/3 str)[173]
>
> Let us advance, brethren, from [divine] miracles to [more divine] miracles/ and let us proceed as if from power to [more] power./ Just as in a golden chain/ held together by rings joined with one another/ of those joined one [ring] clings to the next/ and every one is bound to another/ and sent forth,/ so also the miracles in the holy gospels/ from one to another, step by step, lead/ the feast-loving church of God and delight [it]/ not with perishable food/ but with [food that] lasts unto eternal life./)

The first two clauses introduce the two main themes of the homily, divine miracles and divine power, connected by a motif of forward movement, which will dominate

[172] The word коиѣждо here is probably a scribal error: it is not found in the Greek text; its use is superfluou;, and it is repeated in the next clause – I have excluded it from the syllable count.

[173] Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik*, vol. 2, 318.

the larger part of the homily. The semantic symmetry divine miracles/divine power is arranged in a grammatical chiasmus (adverbial phrase – verb – address – verb – adverbial phrase), which creates a memorable opening rhythm. The syllable and stress correspondence between Greek and OCS is exact. The rest of the excerpt develops an extended simile, whose function is to highlight the mutual dependence of the gospel events celebrated as feasts in the church and their ultimate purpose. The clauses are grouped in pairs of two and three, marked by the same number of stresses and equal or approximate number of syllables. Thus, the third and fourth clauses (*καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἁλύσει χρυσῇ*: 10 syll/3 str *κρικίοις ἀλληλενδέτοις συμβεβλημένῃ*: 13 syll/3 str), which establish the image of the golden chain and its links, bear an equal number of stresses and only differ by three syllables. The OCS translation (ꙗ҆коже бо вь҆ вєрнгахъ зластахъ: 12 syll/3 str прнтокъı дроугъ дроугъ съплєтєнъ: 11 syll/4 str) has not been able to preserve the exact same number of stresses in both clauses (3/4); however, the sum of all syllables in the two clauses corresponds to that in the Greek (23:23). Similarly, the next pair of clauses, in which the homilist elaborates on the interdependence of the chain links, is marked by the same number of stresses and syllables in Greek (14/4), while in OCS the sum of all syllables equals that in the Greek (28:28) and the stress arrangement mirrors that of the previous pair (3/4 : 4/3).[174] The pair that marks the beginning of the second part of the simile (*οὕτω καὶ*

[174] The word *τῶν συμβεβλημένων* in the fifth kolon has been assigned by the modern editor to the sixth kolon by a comma placed after *κατέχεται*. That, however, ruins the perfect paired rhythm of the third/fourth and fifth/sixth kola, which has been matched in the OCS.

τὰ τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων θαύματα: 16 syll/4 str *ἐξ ἀλλήλων εἰς ἄλληλα ποδηγοῦσι*: 12 syll/3 str) is exactly replicated in OCS as far as syllable and stress counts. The last three clauses, in which the simile is completed, exhibit not a full but a fairly close correspondence between the two languages: 17/4, 9/2, 13/3 in Greek and 19/5, 10/2, 14/3 in OCS.

After an exhortation towards the audience to listen well and prepare their hearts to receive the Scripture, the homilist continues:

> *Σήμερον προφητικαὶ σάλπιγγες τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνεπτέρωσαν·* (20 syll/5 str) *καὶ τὰς ἁπανταχῆ τοῦ κυρίου ἐκκλησίας ἐφαίδρυναν καὶ κατέστεψαν·* (23 syll/5 str) *καὶ ἐκ*[175] *τῶν σκάμματος τῶν ἁγίων νηστειῶν·* (13 syll/3 str) *καὶ τῆς κατὰ τῶν παθῶν παλαίστρας·* (10 syll/3 str) *παραλαβοῦσαι·* (5 syll/1 str) *τοὺς [πιστοὺς]*[176] *τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον·* (9 syll/2 str) *καὶ τὸ καινὸν σύνθεμα τῆς εἰρήνης·* (11 syll/3 str) *ᾄδειν·* (2 syll/1 str) *τῷ νικοποιῷ Χριστῷ ἐδίδαξαν·* (11 syll/3 str)
>
> Дьнь҃сь҃ пророчь҃скъı трⷘбъı вь҃сь҃ миръ въскрилшⷭ· (17 syll/5 str) и ѧ҆же вьсⷯдоу господьнⷭ црь҃къвн вь҃звеселишⷭ и҆̑ оу҆̑вⷭзошⷭ· (23 syll/6 str) и҆̑ о҆̑тъ трⷘда ст҃ыи҆̑хъ а҆лканнн҃· (13 syll/3 str) и҆̑ ѣ҆же на страсть҃ брань҃· (8 syll/3 str) прѣи҆̑мъше· (4 syll/1 str) и҆̑же побѣдьнⷯѣ пѣснь҃· (9 syll/2 str) и҆̑ новоіе҆ съложенніе мироу҆̑· (11 syll/3 str) пѣтню· (3 syll/1 str) побѣдалнвоуо҆̑умоу хрнстосовоу наоу҆̑ншⷭ· (15 syll/3 str)[177]
>
> Today prophetic trumpets gave wings to the whole world/ and cheered and decked out everywhere the churches of God/ and receiving [the faithful] from the labor of the holy fast/ and the struggle against the passions/ they taught them [the faithful?] to sing to the victorious Christ a song of victory/ and to hymn the new order of the world./[178])

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[175] There is no elision here – cf. Dewing, "Accentual *Cursus*," 434-35.

[176] The word *πιστούς* is missing in OCS, and is an editorial emendation in Greek – I have omitted it in counting syllables and stresses.

[177] Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik*, vol. 2, 319.

[178] The English translation cannot preserve the Greek *kommatic* divisions accurately.

The clauses in this excerpt are also in pairs or threes. In an elevated tone, the first two initiate an extended metaphor, which begins with a reference to the Old Testament and carries the action into the New Testament. In the first clause the OCS translator has managed to find an exact stress correspondence (20/5 : 17/5); the second one shows a perfect syllabic match (23/5 : 23/6). The next two clauses, anchored by the participle *παραλαβοῦσαι* in the third, are an elaboration on the common New Testament theme of Christian spiritual athleticism. Although only the first clause shows an exact correspondence, the sum of all syllables and accents in the three clauses differs by only one (26/6 : 27/7). The next three clauses also form a semantic group; the first one takes up the Old Testament theme of triumph introduced in the beginning, the second carries it forward to the New Testament through reference to the "new order of peace," where the word *σύνθεμα* also invokes the associations of its homophone (*σύνθημα τῆς κοινωνίας* = the Symbol of Faith). The match between syllables and accents in this group is very close, with the first and the third clause deviating with only one syllable each (9/3, 11/3, 2/1 in Greek and 9/2, 11/3, 3/1 in OCS).[179]

Compare with this the opening rhythm of Epiphanius' *Homily on the Entombment of Christ and the Descent into Hades*:

[179] I have deliberately chosen passages whose division into kola differs significantly from the modern punctuation of the Greek text, as published in Zaimov and Capaldo's edition. Following the modern punctuation would destroy the OCS syllable/accent correspondence.

Τὶ τοῦτο σήμερον σιγὴ πολλὴ ἐν τῇ γῇ· (13 syll/6 str) *τὶ τοῦτο σιγὴ*[180] *· και ἠρεμία πολλή·* (7 syll/2 str) *σιγή πολλὴ·* (4 syll/2 str) *ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπνοῖ·* (8 syll/2 str) *γῆ ἐφοβήθη καὶ ἡσύχασεν·* (10 syll/3 str) *ὅτι ὁ θεός σαρκὶ ὕπνωσε·* (10 syll/3 str) *ὁ θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ τέθνηκε·* (9 syll/3 str) *καὶ ὁ Ἅιδης ἐτρόμαξεν·* (8 syll/2 str) *ὁ θεὸς πρὸς βραχὺ ὕπνωσε·* (9 syll/3 str) *καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αἰῶνος ὑπνοῦντας ἐκ τοῦ ἅδου ἀνέστησε·* (17 syll/4 str) *ποῦ ποτε νῦν εἰσιν αἱ πρὸ βραχέος ταραχαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ θόρυβοι·* (21syll/6 str) *κατὰ Χριστοῦ ὦ παράνομοι· ποῦ οἱ δῆμοι καὶ αἱ τάξεις·* (8 syll/3 str) *καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ δόρατα·* (9 syll/2 str) *ποῦ οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς·* (8 syll/3 str) *καὶ κριταὶ οἱ κατάκριτοι·* (8 syll/2 str) *ποῦ αἱ λαμπάδες καὶ μάχαιραι·* (9 syll/2 str) *καὶ οἱ θρύλλοι οἱ ἄτακτοι·* (8 syll/2 str) *ποῦ οἱ λάοι καὶ τὸ φρύαγμα·* (9 syll/3 str) *καὶ ἡ κουστωδία ἡ ἄσεμνος·* (10 syll/2 str)

Ѱто се дьнь҃сь мльчанніе много на ҙемн· (14 syll/5 str) ч'то се мльчанніе много· и҃ непланштеванніе много· (9 syll/2 str) мльчанніе҃ много· (6 syll/2 str) ꙗ҃ко цѣсаръ съпнтъ· (8 syll/2 str) ҙемь҃ꙗ о҆у҆боꙗ҃ сѧ и҃ о҆у҆мльча· (11 syll/3 str) ꙗ҃ко богъ пльтніѫ҃ о҆у҆сь҃пе· (10 syll/3 str) богъ пль҃тніѫ҃ и҃ о҆у҆сь҃пе· (9 syll/3 str) и҃ а҃дъ въстрепета· (7 syll/2 str) богъ въ малѣ о҆у҆сь҃пе· (8 syll/3 str) и҃ съпѧштѧѧ о҆тъ вѣка о҆тъ а҃да въскрѣсн· (16 syll/4 str) къде нъінꙗ сѫтъ вь҃чераш'н҃ѧѧ[181] мль҃вы и҃ гласн и҃ говорн· (21 syll/7 str) бъіваіѫ҃штнѝ на х҃а҃ о҆тъ ҙаконопрѣстѫ҃пнікъ·[8.ϵ] кде народн и҃ унин· (7 syll/3 str) и҃ о҆рѫ҃жніа и҃ жрь҃дн· (8 syll/2 str) к'де цѣсаре и҃ їе҃рен҃· (10 syll/3 str) и҃ сѫдна҃ о҆сѫ҃жденъіа҃· (9 syll/2 str) кде свѣшта и҃ меун· (6 syll/3 str) и҃ говорн бештнсль҃ннѝ· (9 syll/2 str) кде людніе и҃ гневаннꙗ· (9 syll/3 str) и҃ трѫ҃тъ неправ҃дънъін· (9 syll/2 str)[183]

(What is this today? A great silence on earth./ What is this? A [great] silence/ and a great stillness./ A great silence/ because the king sleeps./ The earth was frightened and became quiet/ because God fell asleep in the flesh./ God

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[180] OCS has one more word here, which is missing in Greek: много = *πολλή*. Although it was probably present in the manuscript used by the OCS translator, I have not emended the Greek, and have, therefore, omitted the clause.

[181] The Greek reads *πρὸ βραχέος* (of not long ago), while in OCS we have вь҃чераш'н҃ѧѧ (from yesterday). The translation is more explicit than the original.

[182] The OCS translation departs from the extant Greek text – instead of "o, law-transgressors" it has "by the law-transgressors." The Greek original probably contained something like *ὑπὸ παρανόμων*. I have omitted the clause.

[183] Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik*, vol. 2, 448.

> died in the flesh,/ and *hades* shuddered./ God fell asleep for a little while/ and raised from *hades* those who have been sleeping for ages./ Where is now the shouting, the commotion, the noise from not too long ago? [Which were] against Christ, o law-transgressors (or, by the law-transgressors)?/ Where are the crowds and the bands of soldiers?/ The arms and the spears?/ The kings and the priests?/ The condemned judges?/ The torches and the swords?/ The disorderly babble? The crowds and the insolence? And the impious guard?)

Epiphanius opens his homily with paired clauses (except for the cluster of three clauses in the very beginning) conveying the idea of duality, which he will develop masterfully through the entire homily, drawing together allusions and imagery from both the Old and the New Testament: the two natures of Christ, the two comings (*parousia)* of the Lord, the two (Old and New) divine dispensations (*oikonomia)*, the two high priests (Annas and Kaiaphas), the two kings (Herod and Pilate), the two crucified robbers, the two peoples (Jews and Gentiles), the two suns (the physical sun and Christ), the two secret disciples (Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus), etc. Thus, the paired clauses are built around either antithetical ideas or ideas of which the second develops a theme that temporally follows the first. (I am skipping the first three clauses because of a possible textual omission.) The next two clauses are actually paired with the third and fourth in that they build on the theme of sleep: there is a great silence because the king is sleeping; the earth was afraid and became quiet because God fell asleep in the flesh. The clause structure is simple and somewhat parallel in that the two pair members are connected with *hoti*, and has been preserved in the translation. The rhythm in Greek gradually builds up by increasing the number of syllables and stresses (there is a great silence (4 syll/2 str),

because the king is sleeping (8 syll/2 str)), until it reaches the semantic apex, where it sustains the same rhythm: the earth was afraid and became quiet (10 syll/3 str) because God fell asleep in the flesh (10 syll/3 str). The OCS translation recognizes that, although it has not been able to match the syllabic count perfectly: (6/2, 8/2, 11/3, 10/3).

The next pair of clauses picks up on the paradoxical theme of God being asleep in the flesh and adds to it the antithetical theme of death and *hades*: God died in the flesh, and *hades* shuddered. The pair that follows it goes back to the theme of sleep and introduces another paradox: God fell asleep for a little while/ and raised from *hades* those who have been sleeping for ages. The rhythm follows closely that of the previous pair (9/3, 8/2, 9/3) until the semantic climax, where the number of syllables and accents almost doubles (17/4). The long clause also signals a transition to another topic. The translation has managed to render the rhythm almost unchanged (9/3, 7/2, 8/3, 16/4).

The next two pairs are an apostrophe to the "law-transgressors" and introduce a series of rhetorical questions (because of the uncertainty of the text I will omit the second clause of the first pair): Where is now the shouting, the commotion, the noise from not too long ago?/ […]/ Where are the crowds and the bands of soldiers?/ The arms and the spears? After the introductory clause, which in its length resembles the closing *kolon* of the previous two pairs (21/6), the homilist changes to dramatic short phrases (8/3, 9/2), describing the disturbance of Christ's arrest and trial. Again the OCS translation follows the Greek with very small deviations in syllable and accent

counts (21/7, […], 7/3, 8/2). From here on the clauses are kept short and of similar length through the end of the apostrophe; they are also marked by almost perfect *clausular* rhythm with a double dactyl (as in *καὶ κριταὶ οἱ κατάκριτοι*). The OCS syllable and accent counts follow the Greek closely (8/3, 8/2 : 10/3, 9/2; 9/2, 8/2 : 6/3, 9/2; 9/3, 10/2 : 9/3, 9/2).

Similar to Epiphanius' paired/antithetical opening – although in a different manner – is the beginning of Proclus' *Homily on the Sunday of Thomas*:

> *Ἥκω τὸ χρέος ἀποδώσων ὑμῖν·* (11 syll/4 str) *χρέος κἀμὲ τὸν ἀποδιδοῦντα πλουτίζον καὶ ὑμᾶς ὠφελοῦν·* (19 syll/6 str) *πάρειμι πάλιν ὑποδείξων τὸν Θωμᾶν·* (12 syll/4 str) *παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιστοῦντα τῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀναστάσει·* (19 syll/4 str) *ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ἀφήν·* (13 syll/4 str) *πιστεύοντα τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ Κύριον καὶ Θεὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζοντα*· συντείνατε τοίνυν τὰς ὑμετέρας διανοίας παρακαλῶ·* (19 syll/5 str) *καὶ μετὰ γαλήνης τῶν εὐτελῶν μου ῥημάτων ἀνάσχεσθε·* (18 syll/4 str) *ἵνα μικράν τινα τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφέλειαν καρπώσησθε·* (18 syll/5 str)
>
> Нд҃ длъгъ вамъ ѡ҆тъдатъ· (10 syll/4 str) длъгъ і мь҆нѣ даи҃штоу҆моу на оу҆спѣхъ н҃ вы ѡ҆богатѧ҆н҃· (20 syll/6 str) прідохъ пакы съказатъ ѳома҃· (11 syll/4 str) ѡ҆тъпрь҆ва оу҆бо не вѣроуі҃штоу господь҆ню вьскрь҆сенью҆· (20 syll/5 str) послѣжде же по внденнн н҃ по прнсѧженнн· (16 syll/3 str) вѣроуі҃штоу х҃а҃ н б҃а҃ і҆его намѣнѧшта[184]· распрострѣте оу҆бо мола҃ вы сѧ ваша оу҆мы· (14 syll/4 str) н҃ сь тнхостні҃ прнн҃мѣте хоудаа҃ моꙗ словеса· (18 syll/5 str) да мало что ѡ҆ть҆ нн҆хъ оу҆спѣшенья прнн҃мете· (17 syll/4 str)[185]
>
> (I have come to pay a debt owed to you,/ a debt that makes me who repay it rich and at the same time is useful to you/ I am here again to point at Thomas/ who at first doubted the resurrection of the Savior/ but later, after he saw and touched/ believed in Christ and called him Lord and God./ Apply, therefore, your minds, I beg you/ and endure with peace my humble words/ so that you may reap from them a little profit.)

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[184] The word *Κύριον* is missing from the OCS text – I have omitted the clause.

[185] Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulksi sbornik* vol. 2, 498.

This excerpt is also built on paired clauses, which have been formed around antithetical ideas. The first two announce that the debt about to be repaid by the homilist to the audience enriches both him and his listeners; the next four, in a mirror construction, introduce the topic of the homily, Thomas's disbelief turned to faith. The length of the clauses alternates in an almost regular manner: 11 syll/4 str, 19 syll/6 str, 12 syll/4 str, 19 syll/4 str, 20 syll/4 str… The OCS translation has attempted to match that, but has achieved a somewhat more equal and regular length of the clauses: 10/4, 20/6, 11/4, 20/5, 16/3, … Likewise, the translation of the exhortation to the audience that follows, if unable to preserve the original number of syllables, has evened out the number of accents (19/5, 18/4, 18/5 in Greek and 14/5, 18/5, 17/4). A visual illustration of the comparison between the Greek and OCS clause lengths can be found in the Appendix in the form of flow charts.

What conclusions can be drawn so far from these findings? It appears that, alongside the literal meaning of the text, the OCS translations strive to preserve also the performative clause division and the total number of syllables and stresses per clause. While it is somewhat expected that the translators would keep the same number of stresses – especially given the importance of the so-called "isocolism" in Old Slavic literature, it is significant that they should have attempted to do the same with the number of syllables as well. The stress/syllable correspondences between Greek and OCS are not spread evenly throughout the texts. They increase in places expected to be marked by heightened rhythmicity in Greek. The syllabic

correspondence implies that the number of syllables per clause was also perceived as formative to the rhythm of prose, *in Slavonic as well as in Greek*. The texts I have selected have been done by different translators, belonging possibly to different schools: the Chrysostomian homilies (including Proclus' *On the Sunday of Thomas*) most likely come from the hands of the Cyrillo-Methodian school, while Epiphanius and Photius' homilies belong to the Preslav school. From this one can conclude that staying close to the syllabotonic rhythm of the originals is one of the general Slavic principles of translation and is not limited to the preferences of just one person or school. In this sense, the rhythmical correspondence of the OCS texts matches the Greek so precisely that it takes approximately the same length of time to read through an OCS clause, semantic cluster, or paragraph – as punctuated in the manuscript – as it takes to read the Greek. The last two pages in the Appendix show a breakdown of the time it takes to read through one paragraph of Proclus' homily, clause by clause.

Stanchev has made a similar observation: he notes that the isocolic structures in OCS can often be characterized by a particular syllabic arrangement, such as isosyllabism.[186] It is no news that the Slavs did attempt to preserve the number of syllables in their translations from Greek as accurately as possible. In a well-known article of about forty-five years ago, Roman Jakobson makes a convincing case that the Slavic translations of Greek *heirmoi* and *stichera* (liturgical hymns), as well as

[186] Stanchev, *Poetika*, 161-65.

liturgical prayers exhibit a strong tendency to preserve the syllabic count of the original verses, at times even regularizing and improving the patterns of the originals.[187] Jakobson's discovery spurred a number of probes into the field of Slavonic versification and yields some important results.[188] Stanchev takes up the question of the Greek influence on Old Slavic poetry and demonstrates that not only poetry in translation responded to the Greek models, but also original OCS compositions of the ninth and tenth centuries borrowed the Greek form of the Byzantine dodecasyllabic verse, that is, a basic 12-syllable line and a caesura after the fifth or seventh, and sometimes sixth syllable.[189] Among recent explorations on the same subject is Regina Koycheva's examination of a tenth-century troparion,[190] where she demonstrates that phonetic devices and syllabic counts are transmitted into OCS at a high rate. These questions are discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

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187 Roman Jakobson, "The Slavic Response to Byzantine Poetry" in *Actes du XIIe congres international d'etudes Byzantines, Ochride, 10-16 Septembre, 1961*, vol. 1 (Beograd: Comité yougoslave des études Byzantines, 1963).

188 For an insightful summary of the history of the research with a comprehensive bibliography, see Krassimir Stanchev, "Liturgicheskaia poeziia v drevneslavianskom literaturnom prostranstve" in *La poesia liturgica slava antica. XIII Congresso Internazionale degli Slavisti (Lubiana, 15-21 Agosto 2003)* (Roma: Dipartimento di Letterature Comparate dell'Universita degli Studi *Roma Tre*, 2003), 5-23.

189 Krassimir Stanchev, "Ritmichnata struktura na Kiriloviia *Proglas kum Evangelieto* i na proizvedeniiata ot Preslavskiia stikhotvoren tsikul" in *Studia slavica mediaevalia et humanistica Riccardo Picchio dicata* (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1986), vol. 2, 645-52. See also Georgi Popov, "Vizantiiskata khimnografska traditsiia i pesnotvorcheskite proiavi na Kirilo-Metodievite uchenitsi" in *Srednovekovna khristiianska Evropa: iztok i zapad. Tsennosti, traditsii, obshtuvane* (Sofia: Gutenberg, 2002), 370-381.

If the number of syllables and stresses are transmitted somewhat accurately not only in poetry, but also in declamatory prose, can we claim that accentual poetry and declamatory prose are closely related? What is the Byzantine theoretical definition of rhythm and how do the Byzantine rhetoricians see the difference between poetry and prose? These questions are considered in the next chapter, where I look into the late antique and Byzantine traditions of discussing rhythm in rhetorical prose and what their implications are for Byzantine accentual poetry.

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[190] Regina Koycheva, "Sound and Sense in the Hymnographic Text: On a Troparion from the Acrostic Triodion Canon Cycle of Konstantin of Preslav" (*Scripta and e-Scripta: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies* 1 (2003): 147-160).

Chapter 2. Another Look at Byzantine Prose Rhythm

In the first chapter I compare clause length and stresses in five Old Church Slavonic homily translations with their Byzantine originals and find that the Slavic translators took pains to preserve the same number of stresses and syllables as in the original Greek clauses. In other words, the Slavic translators treated a clause of oratorical prose in the same – or similar – way they treated a line of liturgical poetry: they strove to preserve its overall length and rhythm. What does this imply for *Byzantine* prose rhythm? As I show in the Introduction, research on Byzantine prose rhythm has concentrated to a large extent on the *cursus*, i.e., the accentual pattern at the end of a clause. Since in Greek the accent can recede only to the antepenult and the number of syllables between two accents is rarely more than six, scholars have been studying largely the last nine syllables, or the last two words, of the clause. In contrast, my clause analysis of the OCS translations seems to show that not just the final cadences, but the entire length and stress pattern of a clause went into the making of prose rhythm – and this applies not only to passages employing the rhetorical figure isocolon (that is, equivalent number of syllables in successive clauses), but to the entire text of a homily. A high degree of attention to both clause length (i.e., number of syllables) and clause accentuation (i.e., number and position of stresses) makes Byzantine oratorical prose a kin of Byzantine accentual poetry,

where the number of syllables per line stays, for the most part, the same, while the accentual patterns change from highly regular (as in liturgical poetry) to loosely regular (as in the twelve- and fifteen-syllable verse types). In this chapter I argue that the main unit of Byzantine prose rhythm is not the *clausular* cadence – or any particular kind of cadence – but the individual word, with its own stress and its relation to the other stressed words in the sentence. *Clausular* rhythm, however important, comprises only one part of the rhythmical make-up of a clause or a passage. I also compare the rhythms of Byzantine homiletic prose and those of Byzantine accentual poetry and argue that that the Byzantine audiences experienced oratory and liturgical song in a somewhat similar manner.

ARE METER AND RHYTHM THE SAME?

The idea of kinship between accentual poetry and rhetorical prose has already been suggested by Marc Lauxtermann in his studies of the twelve- and fifteen-syllable Byzantine verses.[191] Discussing a phenomenon first noticed by Wolfram Hörandner,[192] he observes that the topic of accentual poetry, while wholly omitted by the Byzantine metricians, who concentrate exclusively on the prosody of classical

[191] Marc Lauxtermann, "The Velocity of Pure Iambs: Byzantine Observations on the Metre and Rhythm of the Dodecasyllable," *Jahrbuch der Österreichische Byzantinistik* 48 (1998): 9-33; *The Spring of Rhythm: An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999).

[192] Wolfram Hörandner, "Beobachtungen zur Literaturästhetik der Byzantiner: Einige byzantinische Zeugnisse zu Metrik und Rhythmik," *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995): 279-290.

and post-classical quantitative poetry, appears in the treatises of the Byzantine *rhetoricians*, where the vocabulary used to discuss prose rhythm and accentual verse is one and the same. Especially conspicuous, according to Lauxtermann, is the use of the words (in various derivations) *eurhythmôs* (possessing good rhythm) and *krotos* (strike, beat) to refer to both rhetorical prose and the twelve- and fifteen-syllable verse (the so-called dodecasyllables and political verse). In other words, accentual poetry, and especially the twelve-syllable verse, is perceived as "prosaic" and intimately related to rhetoric, as witnessed by the comments of the fourteenth-century rhetorician Joseph Rhakendytes.[193] In addition, both the Byzantine iambics (more specifically, the Byzantine dodecasyllabic verse) and rhetorical prose possess the quality of *gorgotes*, or "rapidity/velocity." *Gorgotes*, observes Lauxtermann, is a rhetorical term which refers to a rapid sequence of short clauses (*kommata*),[194] as discussed by Hermogenes in *Peri ideôn*. The twelve-syllable verse line usually divides into two nearly self-contained halves, which makes the poem as a whole flow rapidly

[193] Christian Walz, *Rhetores graeci*, vol. 3, 562: *τὸ μέντοι ἐνθυμήμασι χρῆσθαι κοσμεῖ μὲν μᾶλλον τὰ μέτρα, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τούτων ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἁπλῆς ῥητορείας καὶ λογογραφίας μᾶλλον. ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ τὰ ἰαμβεῖα λογογραφία τίς ἐστιν εὔρυθμος, ζηλούσθω σοι καὶ τὸ ἐνθυμηματικὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς·* ("The use of succint arguments indeed is rather an adornment to metrical discourse, and this is peculiar not only of meters but especially of rhetoric and of speech-writing in general. Since, therefore, iambics are a kind of rhythmical speech-writing, let these employ short arguments as well (lit., let the short argument be sought by you in iambics as well)"). Cited by Hörandner, "Beobachtungen," 289; I am following his suggestion to take *ἐνθυμήμασι* as "knappes Argumentieren," although this translation obscures its connotation as the capstone to an argument stated in compressed and antithetical form ((pseudo-) Hermogenes, *Peri heureseôs* 3.8-9).

[194] A *kôlon* is a clause of medium length, which comprises a more or less self-contained thought; a *komma* is a shorter clause, of about two to four words (see Demetrius *Peri hermêneias* I. 2-10).

in a quick succession of short clauses.[195] In a rich and compelling argument about the origins of the political verse, Lauxtermann suggests that Byzantine syllabic poetry and rhetorical prose share the characteristics of paired colon structure and stress regulation. The principle of pairing appears in the first instances of accentual poetry, as well as in the so-called Asiatic style of oratory, which makes frequent appearance among the writings of the Church Fathers, while stress regulation in rhetorical prose refers to the preferred *clausular* use of Forms 2 and 4 in prose rhythm. Stress regulation at the end of a poetic line began to be employed originally to signal the end of a verse to an audience that had lost its ear to quantities, and eventually became a more or less fixed rule. Therefore, as Lauxtermann argues, accentual poetry is remarkably similar to oratorical prose in that stress is somewhat regulated at the end (more so in verse than in prose) and the structure is that of self-contained *cola*, the only difference being in syllable number, which in prose is basically unlimited, while in poetry it is fixed.[196]

For my own purposes, the most crucial part of Lauxtermann's essay is the notion of rhythmics – as opposed to, or apart from, metrics. By contrast, the majority of contemporary metricians working on classical Greek poetry do not distinguish between rhythm and meter. Classical Greek poetry is built on the principle of alternation of long and short syllables, much like music is made up of alternating

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[195] Lauxtermann, "Velocity of Pure Iambs," 9-33.

[196] Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 69-96.

long and short notes. The question, however, is whether the repetition of a regular sequence of long and short syllables is rhythmical in itself or whether it also needs an alternation of stress or pitch to set the rhythm. Most contemporary metricians maintain that quantitative rhythm does not need stress or pitch to be perceived as rhythmical.[197] The issue of quantitative poetic rhythm bears directly on discussions of prose rhythm, since scholars have traditionally regarded classical Greek prose rhythm simply as a mixture of various quantitative poetic feet.[198] In this view, good rhythm in classical oratory means simply a combination of feet from poetry, put together in such a way as to avoid an impression of regularity.

If rhythm and meter were the same and were perceived by both poets and rhetoricians as the same, then the terms would be used interchangeably by both classical and Byzantine authors. However, this does not seem to be the case. Longinus' *Prolegomena* to Hephaestion's late antique treatise on metrics (first century), for example, clearly defines rhythm as distinct from meter. I quote his definition in full:

> *Διαφέρει δὲ μέτρον ῥυθμοῦ. ὕλη μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μέτροις ἡ συλλαβὴ καὶ χωρὶς συλλαβῆς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο μέτρον, ὁ δὲ ῥυθμὸς γίνεται μὲν καὶ ἐν συλλαβαῖς, γίνεται δὲ καὶ χωρὶς συλλαβῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἐν κρότῳ· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τοὺς χαλκέας ἴδωμεν τὰς σφυρὰς καταφέροντας, ἅμα τινὰ καὶ ῥυθμὸν ἀκούομεν. καὶ ἵππων δὲ πορεία ῥυθμὸς ἐνομίσθη καὶ κίνησις δακτύλων καὶ μελῶν σχήματα καὶ χορδῶν κινήματα καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τὰ πτερυγίσματα. μέτρον δὲ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο χωρὶς λέξεως ποιᾶς καὶ ποσῆς. Ἔτι τοίνυν*

[197] See, for example, A. M. Dale, "The Metrical Units of Greek Lyric Verses, I, II, III" in *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1969), 41-97; T. Georgiades, *Greek Music, Verse, and Dance*, trans. E. Benedict and M. L. Martinez (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973); B. Snell, *Griechische Metric* (Göttingen: Vandenhöck und Ruprecht, 1982); and Thomas Cole, *Epiplokê: Rhythmical Continuity and Poetic Structure in Greek Lyric* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

[198] The use of metrical feet most suitable to prose is discussed, for example, by Cicero, *Orator* 170ff; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoriae* IX.4; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De compositione verborum* 25-26.

διαφέρει ῥυθμοῦ τὸ μέτρον, ᾗ τὸ μέτρον πεπηγότας ἔχει τοὺς χρόνους, μακρόν τε καὶ βραχὺν καὶ τὸν μεταξὺ τούτων τὸν κοινὸν καλούμενον, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς πάντως μακρός ἐστιν ἢ βραχύς· ὁ δὲ ῥυθμὸς ὡς βούλεται ἕλκει τοὺς χρόνους. πολλάκις γοῦν καὶ τὸν βραχὺν χρόνον ποιεῖ μακρόν. Ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν ἴσασιν οἱ ποιηταί, λάβωμεν παράδειγμα ἀπὸ παιζούσης κωμῳδίας ἐν σπουδαζούσῃ φιλοσοφίᾳ· ὁ γοῦν [Ἀριστοφάνης][199] ἐν ταῖς Νεφέλαις φησὶ Σωκράτης, εἰ καὶ τωθάζει Ἀριστοφάνης·

> *πότερον περὶ μέτρων ἢ περὶ ἐπῶν ἢ ῥυθμῶν·*

ἀντιδιέστειλε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ ῥυθμῶν τὰ μέτρα· εἰς ἑκάτερον γοῦν τὸ παράδειγμα σημειωτέον, ὅτι τε ῥυθμὸς μέτρου διαφέρει καὶ ὅτι ἴσασιν ἐν διδασκαλίᾳ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν τῶν μέτρων θεωρίαν.[200]

(Meter differs from rhythm. For the material of meter is the syllable, and apart from the syllable meter would not exist, while rhythm exists both within syllables and apart from them. For [rhythm] is also in the beat. Thus, when we perceive the blacksmiths bringing down their hammers, we at once hear some sort of rhythm. Likewise, equestrian gaits are considered rhythmical, and so is the snapping of fingers, the dance figures [described by] the limbs, the striking of musical chords, as well as the flutter of birds' wings. Meter, on the other hand, would not exist apart from the qualities and quantities of words. Meter, therefore, differs from rhythm also in that it has fixed temporal intervals: long, short, and one between them called common, which may, at all events, be long or short, while rhythm stretches the intervals as it wishes. Often, at any rate, it makes the short interval long. We may recognize that this is the case and that the poets knew the difference from an example in playful comedy in the manner of serious philosophy. Socrates says in *Clouds* (638) – although Aristophanes is joking:

> "About meter or verse or rhythm?"

The [poet] sets meter apart from rhythm. For each example one must note, at any rate, that rhythm differs from meter and that the ancients were aware of the theory of meters in their teaching practice.)

This comment on rhythm – in a metrical treatise – Longinus prefaces with the statement that the father of meter is rhythm and god: meter derived its beginnings

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[199] *[Ἀριστοφάνης]* is an editorial insertion – it may be better, perhaps, to drop it and treat *ὁ* as referring to Socrates.

[200] Maximilian Consbruch, ed., *Hephaestionis enchiridion: cum commentariis veteribus* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1907), 83.

from rhythm, while god articulated it into being (*μέτρου δὲ πατὴρ ῥυθμὸς καὶ θεός· ἀπὸ ῥυθμοῦ γὰρ ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, θεὸς δὲ τὸ μέτρον ἀνεφθέγξατο*).[201] Longinus here is most likely refering to the common tradition that the oracle at Delphi was first to start using the epic meter, from which developed the rest of the meters. According to Longinus, then, rhythm is present in poetry apart from and in addition to – indeed, before – meter; meter is treated as something articulated from and added to rhythm. He quotes Aristophanes to show that rhythm in poetry is not an invention of late antiquity, but was known to and employed by the ancients as well. The quotation is actually quite appropriate and rather striking, given its context within the comedy: Strepsiades appears and is about to become a pupil of Socrates. Socrates asks him what he would like to learn about first: meter, verse, or rhythm. Strepsiades answers that he would like to start with meter, since a few days before he had been cheated out of two measures of meal at the marketplace (the word-play on *μέτρον* is difficult to render in English: the word is used for both "meter" and "measure"). Socrates curses Strepsiades for his boorishness and asks whether he would not want to learn about rhythm, as for example the rhythm of the war dance (*κατ' ἐνόπλιον*) or rhythm according to the dactyl (*κατὰ δάκτυλον*). Strepsiades, of course, turns the question into an obscene joke, since the word "dactyl" is also used to mean "finger" (*Clouds* 627-58). From this passage Longinus argues that the difference between quantity-based meter and beat-based (*krotos*) rhythm was well-known and understood by the

[201] Consbruch, *Hephaestioni enchiridion*, 81. The same idea is repeated almost *verbatum* in the scholia of ninth-century grammarian and rhetorician George Choeroboscus: rhythm is the father and origin of

ancients. The implication is that poetry possesses not only meter but rhythm as well, and that rhythm is felt not in fixed quantities (although it is contained in the alternation of quantities as well) but in a sequence of emphases of another kind. It is quite reasonable to suppose that classical music and dance involved beat-based rhythms; what is interesting is Aristophanes' reference to dactylic poetry, that is, quantitative poetry, as one of the arts which requires knowledge of rhythm.

Other texts by classical authors confirm Longinus' distinction and seem to support his claim that there was an awareness of a difference between rhythm and meter. Plato, for example, mentions that music (or lyric poetry, song) is composed of "words, harmony, and rhythm" (*τὸ μέλος ἐκ τριῶν ἐστιν συγκείμενον, λόγου τε καὶ ἁρμονίας καὶ ῥυθμοῦ*, *Philebus* 398d) and on one occasion draws a distinction between rhythm and meter: *ἔν τε ταῖς κινήσεσιν αὖ τοῦ σώματος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐνόντα πάθη γιγνόμενα, ἃ δὴ δι' ἀριθμῶν μετρηθέντα δεῖν αὖ φασι ῥυθμοὺς καὶ μέτρα ἐπονομάζειν…* ("and again, the different corresponding effects transpire in the movements of the body, which are measured through numbers and which they say must be named rhythms and meters," *Philebus* 17d). Aristotle speaks of meter as part of rhythm: *κατὰ φύσιν δὲ ὄντος ἡμῖν τοῦ μιμεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ (τὰ γὰρ μέτρα ὅτι μόρια τῶν ῥυθμῶν ἐστι φανερόν)…* ("it is natural for us to imitate both harmonies and rhythms – for it is clear that the meters are a part of rhythm," *Poetics* 1448b) and differentiates between metrical speech (i.e., poetry) and rhythmical speech (i.e., oratorical prose): *τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως δεῖ μήτε ἔμμετρον εἶναι μήτε ἄρρυθμον… τὸ δὲ ἄρρυθμον ἀπέραντον, δεῖ δὲ*

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all meters (*πατὴρ δὲ καὶ γένεσις τῶν μέτρων ἐστὶν ὁ ῥυθμός*, Consbruch 177).

πεπεράνθαι μὲν μὴ μέτρῳ δέ… περαίνεται δὲ ἀριθμῷ πάντα. ὁ δὲ τοῦ σχήματος τῆς λέξεως ἀριθμὸς ῥυθμός ἐστιν, οὗ καὶ τὰ μέτρα τμήματα. διὸ ῥυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν λόγον, μέτρον δὲ μή. ποίημα γὰρ ἔσται. ῥυθμὸν δὲ μὴ ἀκριβῶς… ("the form of diction should be neither metrical nor unrhythmical… For the unrhythmical is unlimited; whereas it should be limited, but not through meter… For everything is limited through number. The number of the form of style is rhythm, of which the meters are divisions. On account of that, it is necessary that speech possess rhythm but not meter – for it will turn into a song. Whereas rhythm is not precise…" *Rhetoric* 1408b). Another separate mention of rhythm and meter is found in Timotheus' *Persae* (only a fragment of which is extant): *νῦν δὲ Τιμόθεος μέτροις/ ῥυθμοῖς τ' ἑνδεκακρουμάτοις/ κίθαριν ἐξανατέλλει* ("and now Timotheus with his meters and eleven-struck rhythms makes the *kitharis* spring up anew" *Persae* 228-29).[202]

If these particular passages, however, draw a more or less clear distinction between rhythm and meter, the bulk of the textual evidence points to an obvious confusion in the use of the two terms among fifth-century BC authors.[203] Although it is not necessary to discuss in detail here the use of the words "rhythm" and "meter" in classical texts,[204] I do want to point out that the first clear theoretical distinction

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[202] Trans. of Timotheus adapted from Andrew Barker, *Greek Musical Writings* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984), vol. 1, 96; all examples are cited in Sophie Gibson, *Aristoxenus of Tarentum and the Birth of Musicology* (New York; Routledge, 2005), 77-88. It is possible that the music innovations of the fifth century BC pushed for a stricter theoretical definition of rhythm – thus Aristoxenus' treatise; see below.

[203] Gibson, *Aristoxenus of Tarentum and the Birth of Musicology*, 78-84.

[204] For a comprehensive discussion of the meaning of the word *ῥυθμός* and all its usages, see Wilhelm Seidel's article "Rhythmus/numerus" in *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie* (Stuttgart:

between the two is found in Aristoxenus of Tarentum's fourth-century BC treatise on rhythmics, of which only a part survives, and which, together with his *Harmonics*, seems to have been one of the standard texts the Byzantines used for theoretical instruction in music.[205] Aristoxenus defines rhythm as "concerned with time-lengths and their perception" (*περὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν τούτων αἴσθησιν*) and insists that there is a difference between rhythm and the rhythmizable matter. The relationship between rhythm and the rhythmized is analogous to the relationship between form and matter (or form and the formable): form gives shape to matter; matter is the raw material for form but not form itself (*νοητέον δὲ δύο τινὰς φύσεις ταύτας, τήν τε τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ῥυθμιζομένου, παραπλησίως ἐχούσας πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὥσπερ ἔχει τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸ σχηματιζόμενον πρὸς αὐτό*). The spoken phrase and the sentence, in their various arrangements, can sound as different as there are rhythms that can be applied to them (*ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ λέξις εἰς χρόνους τεθεῖσα διαφέροντας ἀλλήλων λαμβάνει τινὰς διαφορὰς τοιαύτας, αἵ εἰσιν ἴσαι αὐταῖς ταῖς τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ φύσεως διαφοραῖς. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ λόγος κατὰ τοῦ μέλους καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πέφυκε ῥυθμίζεσθαι τῷ τοιουτῷ ῥυθμῷ ὅς ἐστιν ἐκ χρόνων συνεστηκώς*, *Elementa rhythmica* 2-4).[206] In other words, Aristoxenus implies that the metered

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Franz Steiner, 1972-) and Gibson, *Aristixenus of Tarentum*, 77-98; for the etymology of the word *ῥυθμός*, see Robert Renehan, "The Derivation of *ῥυθμός*," *Classical Philology* 58, no. 1 (1963): 36-38.

[205] Judging by the frequent references to Aristoxenus in the rhetorical commentaries reprinted in Walz, as well as by Psellos' summary of Aristoxenus' *Rhythmics* in *Introduction to the Study of Rhythm* (see Person, *Aristoxenus: Elementa rhythmca*, cited in the note below.) The other author frequently used by the Byzantines is Aristides Quintilianus (Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 60-64).

[206] "We must recognize rhythm and the rhythmizable medium as separate notions and separate natures, related to one another in the same kind of way as shape and the shapable material in relation to it;" "The same spoken phrase or sentence, with different arrangements of its parts, each

poetic line is simply the raw material that needs to be rhythmized, and that the same line can sound in completely different ways, depending on the rhythmical composition. The rhythmized medium can be both rhythmical and unrhythmical, since it can accept both a rhythmic and an arrhythmic arrangement (*τὸ δὲ ῥυθμιζόμενόν ἐστι μὲν κοινόν πως ἀρρυθμίας τε καὶ ῥυθμοῦ· ἀμφότερα γὰρ πέφυκεν ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὸ ῥυθμιζόμενον τὰ συστήματα, τό τε εὔρυθμον καὶ τὸ ἄρρυθμον*, *Elementa rhythmica* 8).[207] To borrow an analogy from contemporary musical notation, the same string of notes can be analyzed rhythmically in different ways: it can, for example, have a 3/4 or a 4/4 time signature, depending on where the bars are inserted, and thus would sound different in performance.

The basic unit of rhythm, according to Aristoxenus, is the rhythmical foot (*pous*), which must have at least one downbeat (thesis) and one upbeat (arsis), or a strong and weak alternation. According to Aristoxenus, there are three varieties of rhythmical feet: the dactylic (which forms an equal ratio of 2:2, or two time intervals for the thesis and two for the arsis), the iambic (1:2, or two time intervals for the thesis and one for the arsis or vice versa), and the paeonic (3:2, or three time intervals for the thesis and two for the arsis and vice versa). This overlapping of terminology

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arrangement different from the other, takes on as many differences as there are differences in the nature of rhythm. The same argument applies to melody, and to any other kind of medium which is capable of being rhythmized in the same kind of rhythm that consists of time-lengths." The edition and translation I am using is that of Lionel Pearson, *Aristoxenus: Elementa rhythmica. The fragment of Book II and the Additional Evidence for Aristoxenean Rhythmic Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 3.

[207] "A *rhythmizomenon*, in a way, is common to both arrhythmia and rhythm, since it is capable of accepting both arrangements, the rhythmic and the arrhythmic" (Pearson, *Aristoxenus*, 7).

between metrics and rhythmics, continued in later authors, is very unfortunate, since it creates a potential for much confusion.[208] Aristoxenus' theory accounts well for certain metrical irregularities in ancient comedy and tragedy, and certainly paints a vivid picture of the many possibilities of rhythmizing the choral passages of comedy and tragedy and combining the upward and downward movements of the dancers with the meter of the text.[209] Yet perhaps the most interesting implication, well-known to musicologists, is that no succession of long and short time intervals, regardless of how regular it is, can be perceived as rhythmical, unless it possesses some kind of rhythm to guide it through time.[210] Rhythm can be beat-based or stress-based, but it can also be created by movement or pitch;[211] in either case, stress or

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[208] Compare, for example, one of Hephaestion's scholiasts' attempts to explain the difference between metrical and rhythmical feet in *Scholia A* (Consbruch, *Hephaestionis enchiridion*, 126).

[209] See Pearson's second chapter, "The Greek Theory of Rhythm: Aristoxenus and Others" (in *Aristoxenus: Elementa rhythmica*, xxiii-liv), for an excellent and very accessible critique of the shortcomings of contemporary metric theories as well as an insight into the practical performance of ancient poetry in the light of ancient Greek theories of rhythm. On the same topic, with practical analyses of text excerpts and music fragments, see Thomas Mathiesen, "Rhythm and Meter in Ancient Greek Music," *Music Theory Spectrum* 7 (1985): 159-80 and Lewis Rowell, "Aristoxenus on Rhythm," *Journal of Music Theory* 23, no. 1 (1979): 63-79.

[210] Mathiesen, "Rhythm and Meter in Ancient Greek Music," 162; Pearson, *Aristoxenus*, xxiii-liv; for a brief list of ancient definitions of rhythm from Aristoxenus to Didymus (first century AD), see Bacchius (Karl von Jan, *Musici scriptiores graeci* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1899), 313). J. M. van Ophujsen (*Hephaestion on Metre: A Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 7) argues on the basis of two paragraphs in A. Quintilianus' *On Music* (18.38.15-16 and 13.32.4-5) that Quintilianus implies that it is not metric but rhythmic which is not an autonomous discipline (i.e., rhythmic depends on metric, at least as far as poetry is concerned); however, see Mathiesen's introduction to his translation of A. Quintilianus: Quintilianus refutes the theory of "constructing rhythmic feet on the basis of mere ratios of chronoi rather than on the basis of their function within the meter" (25). Longinus' statement, at any rate, is quite explicit in asserting the guiding role of rhythm over meter.

[211] As defined by A. Quintilianus (13.31): rhythm can be constituted by the alternation of noise and quietude. The presence of pitch rhythm, as reflected by accentuation, in certain parts of ancient comedy and tragedy (and especially in Aristophanes – cf. *Clouds* 1061, 1099, 1378, 1413; *Wasps* 237, 247; cf. E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard

pitch can create incidents of phonetic climax, which allow the hearing to group sounds together in certain patterns.[212]

The issue of measuring rhythm by means of stress or pitch in classical poetry has been a point of contention for contemporary metrists and has received an increasing amount of attention lately.[213] It is, however, beyond the scope of my dissertation, so I will turn back to Longinus and the scholia on Hephaestion. Some of the scholia draw a repeated distinction between metricians (οἱ μετρικοί) and rhythmicians (οἱ ῥυθμικοί), most commonly in that the metricians consider the values of long and short syllables fixed, while the rhythmicians assign to them relative

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University Press, 1914), 47-48) may be what has led some Byzantines to claim that the political verse has its origins in the ancient iambic and trochaic meters. A regular accentuation pattern, whether it be pitch-based or stress-based, is at all events perceived as rhythmical, and it is rather unfortunate that scholars have been disregarding accentual patterns in classical poetry, given the rhythm-bearing potential of pitch. Rather than dismissing the claims of the Byzantine theoreticians as completely inaccurate or motivated by a desire to lend legitimacy to the political verse (which certainly may have been true as well), it may be useful to look at ancient poetry from that perspective.

[212] W. Sidney Allen, *Accent and Rhythm: Prosodic Features of Latin and Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 99; see also 74-102. There is certainly something to be said about psychological emphasis as well: when listening to the ticking of a clock, for example, one tends to perceive the one beat as stronger than the other, that is, the ictus can be created psychologically.

[213] While Dale ("The Metrical Units of Greek Lyric Verses, I, II, III"), Georgiades (*Greek Music, Verse, and Dance*), Snell (*Griechische Metric*), and Cole (*Epiplokê*), among others, energetically maintain that quantitative rhythm does not need any alternation of stress or pitch to be perceived as rhythmical, L. Pearson (*Aristoxenus: Elementa Rhythmica*, xiii-liv), D. Abercrombie ("A Phonetician's View of Verse Structure" in *Studies in Phonetics and Linguistics* (London, Oxford University Press, 1965)) argue that stress and pitch function to create a rhythmic "occurrence" and to differentiate the rhythmical units – something supported by recent research in the psychology of music and rhythm (see Mari Riess Jones, "Dynamics of Musical Patterns" in Tighe and Dowling, *Psychology and Music,* 67-92; Jones finds that listeners have serious difficulties recognizing a given musical pattern as the same if the time signature changes). More recently M. L. West (*Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)) and B. Gentili and L. Lomiento (*Metrica e ritmica: storia delle forme poetiche nella grecia antica.* Milano: Mondadori università, 2003) take up the rhythmical notion of arsis and thesis – West interprets it as the presence of beat in the foot, while Gentili and Lomiento discuss it in more traditional metrical terms (Joel Lidov, Review of Gentili and Lomiento, *The Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 2004.09.09. Available from http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/; Internet; accessed 15 November, 2005).

values.[214] The use of the terms "metricians" and "rhythmicians" certainly points to an established separation of the subjects of metrics and rhythmics, as well as to a tradition of treating them systematically – as early as the first century AD. For example, Aristides Quintilianus (third to fourth century AD), who draws and elaborates on Aristoxenus's theory of music, treats rhythm and meter in separate sections and discusses possible combinations between the two.[215] Quintilianus' treatment of rhythm throws light on the issue of the relative values of longs and shorts: syllables do not have a permanent and fixed value, but can be shortened or lengthened, depending on the rhythmical composition.[216] The idea of varied syllable length in relation to meter and rhythm appears also in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On Literary Composition*: when a poem is set to music, the syllables can vary their natural length widely and "often pass into their opposites" according to the demands

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[214] George Choeroboscus, *Prolegomena*: *Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἄλλως λαμβάνουσι τούς χρόνους οἱ μετρικοί, ἤγουν οἱ γραμματικοί, καὶ ἄλλως οἱ ῥυθμικοί. οἱ γραμματικοὶ ἐκεῖνον μακρὸν χρόνον ἐπίστανται τὸν ἔχοντα δύο χρόνους, καὶ οὐ κατάγονται εἰς μεῖζον τι· οἱ δὲ ῥυθμικοὶ λέγουσι τόδε εἶναι μακρότερον τοῦδε, φάσκοντες τὴν μὲν τῶν συλλαβῶν εἶναι δύο ἡμίσεος χρόνων, τὴν δὲ τριῶν, τὴν δὲ πλειόνων* ("It must be known that the metricians, i.e., the grammarians, perceive the durations in a manner different from the rhythmicians. The grammarians consider the long interval consisting of two [short] intervals and do not make them into anything bigger. The rhythmicians say that this one is longer than that one, deeming this one of the syllables equal to two semi-intervals, that one to three, that one to four." Consbruch, *Hephaestioni enchiridion,* 180). Cf. also the anonymous *Scholia A* (Consbruch, 126), Servius (*Grammatici latini* vol. 4, 457.20), Priscian (*Grammatici latini* vol. 2, 51.25).

[215] A. Quintilianus, *De musica: libri tres*, ed. R. P. Winnington-Ingram (Leipzig: Teubner, 1963), of which Thomas J. Mathiesen has published a detailed commentary and translation (*A. Quintilianus: On Music, In Three Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983)). The sections on rhythm are I.13-19; on meter, I.20-29.

[216] *De musica* I.18; cf. Mathiesen, "Rhythm and Meter in Ancient Greek Music," 159-80 and Pearson, *Aristoxenus*: *Elementa rhythmica* 21-23 (on Psellos' *Introduction to the Study of Rhythm*).

of the rhythm.[217] It is rhythm, in other words, not syllable length, that defines poetic movement. Rhythm can also make verse resemble prose and prose resemble verse, according to Dionysius (*De compositione verborum* 25-26), an argument that appears in Longinus as well, and is repeated by Choeroboscus, a ninth-century Byzantine rhetorician:

> Longinus: *πολλὰ τῶν μέτρων συμβέβηκεν ἀποκρύπτεσθαι σιωπώμενα ἐν τῇ κατὰ πεζὸν ρήσει· καὶ αὖ πάλιν πολλὰς συνεμπτώσεις ἔχει πρὸς ἄλλα μέτρα. εὕροι γοῦν ἄν τις παρὰ Δημοσθένει τῷ ῥήτορι στίχον ἡρωϊκὸν κεκρυμμένον, ὃς ἡδυνήθη λαθεῖν διὰ τὸν πεζὴν οὖσαν τὴν προφορὰν συναρπάσαι τῷ λόγῳ τὴν ἀκοήν.*[218]
>
> (Many meters, being silenced, happen to go under cover in prose. There are equally many instances with respect to the other meters. At any rate, someone would be able to find in Demosthenes the orator hidden heroic verse, which is able to go unnoticed because the nature of the utterance is prosaic and it carries away the hearing by means of [prose] speech.)
>
> Choeroboscus: *ὅθεν πολλάκις ἐν πεζῇ φράσει εὑρίσκονται μέτρα καὶ διὰ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῆς πεζῆς φράσεως λανθάνουσι (καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἐν μέτροις εὑρίσκεται πεζὴ φράσις καὶ οὐ νοεῖται εὐχερῶς), εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἡ ακοὴ καλῶς ἐπικρίνουσα εὔθηλον καὶ φανερὸν ποιήσει. ὅθεν καὶ παρὰ Δημοσθένει ἔστιν εὑρεῖν μέτρα·*[219]
>
> (Whence often meters are found in prose, but on account of the rhythm of the prose utterance they go unnoticed (and conversely, prose utterances found in metered discourse are not easily perceived), unless indeed the sense of hearing, with good discrimination, should perceive it distinctly and clearly. Whence meters can be found in Demosthenes as well.)

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[217] Mathiesen, "Rhythm and Meter in Ancient Greek Music," 163; *De compositione verborum* 11 (trans. Rhys Roberts 128.19-130.2 and 150.22-152.2); see also Maximus Planudes' commentary on Hermogenes' *Peri ideôn* (as late as the thirteenth century), which follows Longinus very closely (Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 5, 473.12-21).

[218] Consbruch, *Hephaestioni enchiridion,* 82.

[219] Consbruch, *Hephaestioni enchiridion*, 178.

The passages emphasize the difference between poetic rhythm and prose rhythm as opposed to, or rather, distinct from, meter: poetic meter goes undetected in prose because the rhythm of prose is not the rhythm of poetry.[220] Rhythm, as I maintain above, can be either stress-based (i.e., beat-based) or pitch-based; thus the presence of poetic feet in prose would be perceived entirely differently because they would be grouped in a different rhythmical manner. It is entirely possible that the rhythmical units of prose were defined by pitch rhythm up until the late Hellenistic period, when pitch accents began to evolve into stress accents. The rhythmical patterns produced must have been easily measurable, and therefore the sense of their rhythm carried into the later period and was felt even after the disappearance of syllable quantities. Thus Cicero remarks that it is unseemly behavior for an orator to mark the rhythm by snapping his fingers *(non ad numerum articulus cadens*, *Orator* 58), while Demetrius insists that the oratorical period requires a measuring hand (*δεόμενον … χειρὸς συμπεριαγομένης τῷ ῥυθμῷ*, *Peri hermêneias* 20), perhaps much like the hand of the music student measuring the time intervals. In a similar sense, although much later, when analyzing the rhetorical prose of the fourth-century bishop Gregory of Nazianzus, the eleventh-century rhetorician Michael Psellos declares that "the movement [of his prose] pulsates and hisses, and ofttimes the measure of his utterance throbs excitedly" (*σφυγμούς τε γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ σιγμοὺς ἡ κίνησις ἔχει καὶ πηδᾷ*

[220] The commentaries I am using date to the first century AD and later, and one could argue that, as stress accent replaced tonal accent, theorists began to see in earlier discussions of rhythm concepts that they could apply to their own set of circumstances. Even if that was the case, their observations would certainly apply to Byzantine rhythms, which are the primary concern of this chapter (I thank Prof. Jeffrey Walker for this suggestion).

θαμὰ διεγειρόμενος αὐτῷ ὁ τόνος τοῦ πνεύματος) and he "often makes [the audience] wonder and often applaud, and [often] strike up a dance alongside his rhythms, and empathize with the subject matter" (*καὶ πότε μὲν θαυμάζειν ποιῶν, πότε δὲ κροτεῖν καὶ ἐν ῥυθμῷ χορείαν ανελίττειν καὶ συμπεπονθέναι τοῖς πράγμασιν*).[221] If classical Greek and Hellenistic rhythm was simply a concoction of various metrical feet – as has been traditionally believed, it would not have been easy for post-Hellenistic Greek speakers to appreciate the rhythms of classical and Hellenistic oratory. By all accounts, however, this was not the case. Demosthenes remained the favorite orator and master of rhythm of all times – even into the late Byzantine period. The Byzantines, therefore, could still sense his rhythms, although they were not able to hear the quantities of his syllables.

THE RHYTHMICAL UNIT OF PROSE

What, then, is the unit that measures the rhythm of prose, just as the poetic foot measures the line? In *Peri ideôn* Hermogenes speaks of rhythm as made up of word order and cadence yet different from them, just as a house or a ship is different from the building materials that go into making it.[222] This point is often emphasized by Hermogenes' Byzantine commentators. Their discussions of prose rhythm usually

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[221] Psellos' essay is published, with a commentary, by August Mayer ("Psellos' Rede über den rhetorischen Charakter des Gregorios von Nazianz," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 20 (1911), 27-100); the quoted lines come from paragraphs 17 and 19 respectively. (Paul Levy publishes another edition of this essay concurrently with Mayer: *Michaelis Pselli de Gregorii Theologi charactere iudicium: accedit eiusdem de Ioannis Chrysostomi charactere iudicium ineditum* (Leipzig: 1912).)

[222] Rabe, *Hermogenis opera*, 219-20.

begin with a definition in the manner of Aristides Quintilianus (rhythm is an ordering of time units), then go on to explain what a foot is (a measured arrangement of two to six syllables) and what a metrical unit (*βάσις*) is (a *metron*, possessing an arsis and a thesis),[223] and conclude by saying that rhythm is really the result of word composition (*συνθήκη λέξεως*) and *clausular* cadence (*ἀνάπαυσις*). *Clausular* cadence is defined as the endings of cola (*κατάληξις τῶν κώλων*); the term *βάσις* is often employed with reference to the metrical units used to round them off. The meaning of *βάσις* could range from "dance step" in poetry to "thesis" (as opposed to arsis) in Aristoxenus, to "a metrical unit in poetry, composed of at least two feet" (as in Choeroboscus' commentary on Hephaestion), to "a *clausular* metrical unit in prose," to "the full rhythmical arrangement of final clauses," in a more general sense (*συμπλήρωσις τῶν κώλων*). It seems clear, however, that it is a preferred term for the metrical unit of a *clausular* cadence because of its connotations of emphasis – the end of a clause does carry a great deal of weight.[224] Thus John Siceliotes reasons that the

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[223] The *βάσις* (*metron*) and, occasionally, the foot (*πούς*) itself are consistently referred to as possessing an arsis and a thesis. As far as the foot is concerned, at least in poetry, arsis and thesis could simply mean a weak and a strong element, while in regard to the *βάσις*, the terms most likely indicate the presence of a beat – see, for example, John Siceliotes's scholia on *Peri ideôn* (Walz, *Rhetores graeci*, vol. 6,166-67; on p. 239 Siceliotes explains the difference between a metrical and a rhythmical foot), also Choeroboscus' commentary on Hephaestion (Consbruch, *Hephaestioni enchiridion*, 211). Thus, for example, according to A. Quintilianus, the *βάσις* of a trochee (¯ ˘ ¯ ˘) would have the thesis in the first half and the arsis in the second half; otherwise, the thesis usually coincided with the longer part of a foot (*On Music* 31; cf. also West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 133). See also Maximus Planudes' explanation of the etymology of the word *βάσις* and its "metaphorical" meaning in regard to the rhythm of prose (n. 34 below).

[224] See, for example, Hermogenes, *Peri ideôn* 1.6.261, 2.1.45, 2.3.178, 2.3.182; Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 7/2, 893, 905, 934; also Choeroboscus' commentary on Hephaestion (Consbruch, 211); John Siceliotes's (Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 6, 239); and Maximus Planudes' scholia on *Peri ideôn*, whom I quote as a representative example: *βάσις καλεῖται ἡ κατάληξις τῶν κώλων, ἣ καὶ ἀνάπαυσις λέγεται·*

ending of a phrase is defined as *βάσις* because *βάσις* derives its name from dancing and from the lowering of the feet: the ending of a kolon is like the resting of a foot upon the ground (*βάσις ἐστὶν ἄρσεως καὶ θέσεως ποδῶν σημείωσις· ἡ μὲν οὖν ἄρσις αἴρει καὶ ὑψοῖ τοὺς πόδας, ἡ δὲ κάτω τίθεσι· διὸ βάσις λέγεται λόγου ἡ κατάληξις καὶ ἡ στάσις τοῦ κώλου, ὥσπερ ποδός τινος ἀνάπαυσις εἰς γῆν·*)[225] The closing cadence, as emphasized by Aristotle, Cicero, Dionysius, Demetrius, and Hermogenes (see "Introduction"), and repeated by Hermogenes' commentators, should be composed of metrical feet appropriate for the tone and style of the sentence. Cadence is one of the most important components of prose rhythm because of the natural weight carried by the last element of an utterance; however, it does not encompass rhythm in its entirety.

The other component of rhythm, word composition, is defined by Dionysius as the placement of words in particular relations to one another (*ποιά τις θέσις παρ' ἀλλήλα τῶν τοῦ λόγου μορίων, De compositione verborum* 2.1) and by Hermogenes' commentators as their arrangement (*σύνθεσις*). The arrangement and choice of words should, of course, be appropriate for the particular style of the sentence, as Hermogenes explains at length in *Peri ideôn*; yet what is the relation of composition

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μεταφορικὴ δὲ ἡ λέξις ἀπὸ τῶν χορευτῶν· τὴν γὰρ ἐν χοροῖς βάσιν ὁρίζονται οὕτως οἱ μουσικοί· βάσις ἐστὶν ἄρσεως καὶ θέσεως ποδῶν σημείωσις· τὸ γὰρ αἴρειν τὸν πόδα, εἶτα τιθέναι, ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν ὠνόμασαν· ("The end of the *colon* is called "*basis,*" also known as the cadence. The word has a metaphoric meaning [derived] from the dancers, since the musicians define the dancing step in this way. "*Basis*" is the demarcation of feet [having] an arsis and a thesis. The lifting of the foot, then its setting down were called arsis and thesis.") Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 5, 454. See also W. Rhys Roberts' entry in his glossary to Dionysius' *De compositione verborum*: "a *rhythmical clause* in a period and particularly, its *rhythmical close*" (Roberts, ed. *On Literary Composition*, 293).

[225] Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 6, 130. The chief contribution of John Siceliotes (or Siceliota) is his commentaries on Hermogenes, in which he sets out to demonstrate rhetorical theory with examples from Gregory of Nazianzus.

to rhythm? The eleventh-century Byzantine rhetorician John Siceliotes defines composition as the "combining and arrangement of words according to the feet appropriate for the style: iambic, trochaic, dactylic, spondaic, and the rest" (*συνθήκη δέ ἐστι ποιὰ λέξεων ἁρμογὴ καὶ ἕνωσις κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν ἰδεῶν πόδας, ἰάμβους ἢ τροχαίους, δακτύλους ἢ σπονδείους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας*).[226] Later on in his commentary he argues that one of the aims of composition is to combine words in such a way that the metrical feet naturally formed by them blend harmoniously with each other; for example, a diseme (such as the dactyl or the anapaest, whose proportions are 2:2) are not to be combined with a triseme (such as the iamb or the trochee, whose proportions are 2:1), because the collocation does not sound well. Siceliotes criticizes two lines from Dionysius (of Halicarnassus) for their unsuitable rhythms: Dionysius, he says, taught about grace of style but did not practice it well himself.[227] Yet Siceliotes's insistence that feet similar in proportions should go together does not mean that the same feet should be used over and over again – as a matter of fact, Isocrates' remark that the discourse would be "dry" if it is not "mixed up with metrical feet of all sorts" and Dionysius' comment that prose should "appear metrical but not be in meter"[228] are often repeated by the scholiasts.[229]

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[226] Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 6, 82.

[227] Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 6, 350-51.

[228] Isocrates (?), *Techne rhêtorikês*, fr. 6 (Benseler-Blass) ; Dionysius, *De compositione verborum* 25 (Roberts, 255).

[229] See Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 6, 165-66 (Siceliotes); and vol. 7, pt. 2, 905-06.

Rhythm is the product of word composition and *clausular* cadence, a point hammered over and over again by Hermogenes' scholiasts. Because of this, they precede their own definitions of rhythms, once again, with brief definitions of cadence and composition – although cadence and composition usually get full discussion elsewhere in the scholia:

> *σύνθεσίς ἐστιν ἡ τῶν λέξεων ἁρμονία· ἀνάπαυσις δὲ ἡ πλήρωσις καὶ τὸ ἀπαρτίσαι τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅπερ ἐν ἀναγνώσει ἐστιν ἡ στιγμή· ῥυθμὸς δέ ἐστιν ἡ ποιὰ ἀπήχησις· … συνθήκη δέ ἐστιν ἡ ποιὰ σύνθεσις καὶ ἁρμολογία τοῦ λόγου. ἀνάπαυσις δέ ἐστιν ἡ κατάληξις τοῦ λόγου ἤτουν τῶν κώλων ἢ κομμάτων, οἷς ἐκφέρεται. ῥυθμὸς δέ ἐστιν ἡ ποιὸς ἦχος τοῦ λόγου, ἰαμβόκροτος τυχὸν ἢ Ἀνακρεόντειος ἢ ἐλεγεῖος ἢ ἑτεροῖος τις.*[230]
>
> (Word arrangement is the harmony of words. Cadence is the rounding off and smoothing out of the idea, the full-stop, as it were, when reading out loud. Rhythm is the particular ring [of an utterance]. (…) Composition is the particular word arrangement and prose harmony of a discourse. Cadence is the ending of a [piece of] discourse, that is, of the cola or kommata through which it is carried out. Rhythm is the ring of an utterance, whether it be perchance iambic, anacreonteic, elegiac or some other kind.)

In this paragraph the Anonymous Scholiast defines composition, cadence, and rhythm twice: once in a somewhat figurative way, and once more or less literally, and rhythm is always discussed in relation with the other two. What follows then is usually an elaboration in the manner of Aristoxenus and Aristides Quintilianus, that is, rhythm is an ordering of time units; it is not the same as meter, etc. The relation between the three becomes, perhaps, more clear in John Siceliotes's extended simile (of a Neo-Platonic flavor):

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[230] Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 7, pt. 2, 885-86. Similar passages can be found in vol. 7, pt. 2, 892-93, 905-06, 936-37; in vol. 5, 450 (Planudes' scholia); in vol. 3, 544-45 (Joseph Rhakendytes' *Synopsis rhêtorikês*).

οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνατὸν δίχα λέξεως εἰς αἴσθησιν κινεῖσθαι τὴν ἔννοιαν· ἐν τῷ σώματι οὖν αἱ μορφαὶ ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ λέξει τὰ σχήματα· μόρια δὲ τῷ σώματι διάφορα. καὶ τῆς λέξεως κῶλα μεγάλα τε καὶ μικρὰ ἃ τοῦ μεγέθους εἰσὶ καὶ τῶν διαστάσεων ἴδια, ἄλλα καὶ σύνθεσις ὁμωνύμως ἢ παρωνύμως καὶ συνθήκη, συντίθεται γὰρ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς ἄρθροις, καὶ αἱ λέξεις ἀλλήλαις καὶ τοῖς στοιχείοις, ἡ βάσις καὶ τοῖς πέρασιν ἀναλογεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἀπαρτισμοῖς τῶν σωμάτων, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοῖν ὁ ῥυθμὸς τῷ τοῦ μεγέθους σχήματι· … ὁ λόγος ζώῳ ἀναλογεῖ, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἔννοια τούτου ἀναλογεῖ τῇ τοῦ ζώου ψυχῇ, ἡ δὲ μέθοδος τῇ τοιᾷδε κινήσει τῆς ψυχῆς· διάφοροι γὰρ αἱ τῶν ψυχῶν ἐν διαφόροις ζώοις κινήσεις, ἡ δὲ λέξις τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῇ τοῦ σώματος μορφῇ, καὶ τὰ κῶλα τοῖς ὀστέοις, καὶ ἡ συνθήκη ταῖς τῶν ὀστῶν ἁρμονίαις, καὶ τοῖς τούτων πέρασιν ἡ ἀνάπαυσις, καὶ ὁ ῥυθμὸς τῇ τοιᾷδε κινήσει τοῦ σώματος…[231]

(For the thought cannot be moved towards perception without diction. Therefore, as the body has differently shaped [parts], so diction has different forms. For the parts of the body are different. So the cola in diction are long or short and they are of their own kind with regard to length and dimension, and in the same manner or by analogy are the word arrangement and overall composition. For as the body is made up of its joints, so the words relate to each other and to the [other] parts. The *basis* is analogous both to the ends of parts and to their completion, from both of which rhythm comes about through the form of length. The discourse resembles a living thing, and its thought – the soul of the living thing; style resembles this kind of movement of the soul. For the movements of the soul are different in the different animals; diction is like the body, its form is like the shape of the body, the cola are like the bones, the composition is like the harmony of the bones, the cadence is like their end parts, and rhythm is like the kind of movement of the body…)

Siceliotes thus describes rhythm as the overall movement of the body; it is the product of cadence meter, word arrangement, and cola composition all at the same time. He stresses the individual character of each element: it partakes of length and dimension according to its own nature. Rhythm is the overall effect of the combination of the separate elements and their movement in time. It certainly can contain various metrical feet – they will give it a certain "ring," as the Anonymous

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[231] Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 6, 118 and 139.

Scholiast says above, but the feet by themselves will not create the rhythmical units or their movement. Could it be that the rhythm of a discourse is held together and carried forward by its semantic units?

The larger semantic units, i.e., the clause (*κῶλον*) and the phrase (*κόμμα*) certainly play an enormous role in the overall rhythmical feeling of a rhetorical discourse. Thus Hermogenes says that the vehement/impetuous (*σφοδρός*) style as well as the rough (*τραχύς*) and the rapid (*γοργός*) style should consist of short clauses or rather, phrases (*κόμματα*);[232] certain figures of speech, like asyndeton, anaphora, antistrophe, can naturally contribute to the creation of rhythm.[233] Similarly, the solemn style and the beautiful style should consist of longer clauses, to create a sense of calm and stateliness.[234] Yet when it comes to the rhythms of the individual clauses, we need to look for a smaller unit, or the "prose equivalent" of the *metron*.

The rhetoricians often stress the importance of the individual word in the make-up of both composition and rhythm: *ῥυθμὸς δέ ἐστι χρόνος διηρημένος ὑπὸ λέξεως ἢ κινήσεως κατά τινα τάξιν ὡρισμένην λόγῳ, ὡς δὲ Ἀριστόξενος καὶ Ἡφαιστίων φασί, χρόνων τάξις* ("rhythm is time divided by word or movement [i.e., dance movement – as explained by Aristoxenus and Aristides Quintilianus] according to an order defined by the discourse, or as Aristoxenus and Hephaestion say, an ordering of time-

[232] Rabe, *Hermogenis opera*, 259, 263.

[233] Rabe, *ibid.*, 314.

[234] Rabe, *ibid.*, 243-55 and 296-311.

units.").[235] One commentator follows his definition of rhythm with the remark that "Dionysius, having examined fully the essence of the matter, says that rhythm is created by the words" (*καὶ ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος τὸ βάθος αὐτοῦ διερευνήσας ἐκ τῶν λέξεων λέγει γίνεσθαι τὸν ῥυθμόν*).[236] To put it otherwise, the rhythmical unit in prose is the individual word.[237] Perhaps because of that we get the commentators' insistence that the rhythm of prose should be measured according to nature, not according to artifice (*κατὰ φύσιν οὖν ἔμμετρον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν λόγον καὶ μὴ κατὰ τέχνην.*)[238] Occasionally this statement refers to the use of iambic and trochaic feet, which are perceived as more prosaic than the rest; however, the consistency with which the rhetoricians keep recommending "nature over artifice" indicates that the princinple is not limited to the use of iambs and trochees only, but most likely refers to a rhythm created by "natural" word combination.

Moreover, remarks that full poetic lines often go undetected in prose because of the rhythm of the prosaic discourse (*πολλάκις ἐν πεζῇ φράσει εὑρίσκονται μέτρα καὶ διὰ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῆς πεζῆς φράσεως λανθάνουσι*)[239] seem to support the idea that the individual

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[235] Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 7, pt. 2, 892; see also vol. 6, 131 (John Siceliotes).

[236] Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 7, pt. 2, 893.

[237] A similar idea appears also in Kostova's "Ritmichni strukturi v starobulgarski glagolicheski pamentitsi." However, it is argued on the basis of post-Enlightenment philosophy and contemporary theory rather than the ancient sources.

[238] Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 7, pt. 2, 935 and 937; see also vol. 6, 130 (John Siceliotes), vol. 5, 473 (Maximus Planudes).

[239] Choeroboscus (Consbruch, *Hephaestioni enchiridion,* 178), also Longinus (*πολλὰ τῶν μέτρων συμβέβηκεν ἀποκρύπτεσθαι σιωπώμενα ἐν τῇ κατὰ πεζὸν ῥῆσει* ("many of the meters happen to go hidden, being silenced in prose discourse"), *idem*, 82).

word – and not a particular cadence – is the building block of prose rhythm. Longinus, for example, points out two different lines in Demosthenes which form a dactylic and an ionic sequence; Choeroboscus brings up another line in Demosthenes, which, taken by itself, is an iambic trimeter; Siceliotes gives an example of a line in an oration by Gregory of Nazianzus, which he says is a dactylic acatalectic pentameter[240] – yet none of them sounds like poetry within its own oratorical context. They all go unnoticed because of the *rhythm* of prose. The traditional explanation – that poetic feet in prose would not be detected simply because they are mixed together – does not quite hold. A hexameter or iambic line, for example, contains enough *metra* to be recognized as such before the speaker has reached its end; conversely, certain choral passages are made up of different meters that vary quickly and yet are still perceived as poetry. In his section on how to make verse resemble prose in *De compositione verborum*, Dionysius says that the prime factor is the "joining of the words themselves" (*ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν ἁρμογή*), next comes the "arrangement of the clauses" (*ἡ τῶν κώλων σύνθεσις*), and third, "the proportion of the sentences" (*ἡ τῶν περιόδων συμμετρία*). Dionysius further advises whoever wishes to make his verse resemble prose to "string together and vary the words in manifold ways, and likewise commensurably make the clauses not to coincide with the poetic lines but to break up the meter, making them uneven and dissimilar" (*τὰ τῆς λέξεως μόρια δεῖ πολυειδῶς στρέφειν τε καὶ συναρμόττειν καὶ τα κῶλα ἐν διαστήμασι ποιεῖν συμμέτρως*

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[240] Consbruch, *Hephaestioni enchiridion*, 82 and 178; Walz, *Rhetores graeci*, vol. 6, 166.

μὴ συναπαρτίζοντα τοῖς στίχοις ἀλλὰ διατέμνοντα τὸν μέτρον, ἄνισά τε ποιεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀνόμοια).[241] The emphasis is placed first on words and then on clauses: they must be arranged varyingly, avoiding repetitions of rhythmically similar units and their combinations. The attention, therefore, is drawn to the individual word (or the smallest semantic unit) – and by extension, to the clause, which is the larger unit; by contrast, with rhythmically similar patterns, the attention would be drawn to the pattern, not the individual semantic unit. To put it otherwise, in metered poetry the regularity of rhythm is of paramount importance and dominates the content, while in rhetorical prose, it is the flow of the content, or the movement of the semantic units, that leads the rhythm.

Dionysius makes a similar point in his discussion on how to make prose resemble verse: "that which embraces within its compass similar meters and preserves definite rhythms, and is produced by a repetition of the same forms, line for line, period for period, or strophe for strophe, […] is *in* rhythm and *in* meter and the names of 'verse' and 'song' are applied to such writing" (*ἡ μὲν ὅμοια περιλαμβάνουσα μέτρα καὶ τεταγμένους σῴζουσα ῥυθμοὺς καὶ κατὰ στίχον ἢ περίοδον ἢ στροφὴν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν σχημάτων περαινομένη […] ἔρρυθμός ἐστι καὶ ἔμμετρος, καὶ ὀνόματα κεῖται τῇ τοιαύτῃ λέξει μέτρον καὶ μέλος*).[242] He goes on to argue that poetic feet in prose escape detection because they are usually incomplete and therefore cannot be recongized by the ear as

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[241] *De compositione verborum* 26 (Roberts, 270).

[242] *De compositione verborum* 25; trans. Roberts, 255.

such. For example, he says, the beginning of Demosthenes' speech against Aristocrates contains an incomplete line of anapaestic tetrameter next to a line of elegiac pentameter which is a syllable short, next to a phrase of "pure prose," etc. In this way prose becomes "poetical," argues Dionysius, yet the poetic meter becomes diffused and only leaves its "ring" in the discourse. One must note, however, that the said poetic lines are incomplete because the clause is brought to an end before the anticipated end of the line. Thus the phrase *μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίσῃ με παρεῖναι* ("Let none of you, Athenians, think that I am standing before you…"),[243] which is the first clause in Demosthenes' speech, stops one foot short of a full anapaestic tetrameter because the thought in the *kolon* is brought to an end. Similarly, *μήτ' ἰδίας ἔχθρας μηδεμιᾶς ἕνεκα* ("…with intent to indulge personal hate of my own") is one syllable short of a full elegiac line, according to Dionysius, yet it is a complete *kolon*. Consequently, the attention is drawn away from the metrical pattern as such and toward the individual words as carriers of meaning. Dionysius' example of how to make verse resemble prose throws some more light on the question: he cites an ode by Simonides, the lines of which he had rearranged according to the clause divisions, not according to meter. The result is, he says, that the text reads much like prose. The ode has been carefully selected, of course, for its clause structure: the ends of the clauses do not coincide with the the ends of the poetic lines (I quote a small part of it): *εἶπέν τ'· ὦ τέκος,/ οἷον ἔχω πόνον, σὺ δ' ἀωτεῖς·/ γαλαθηνῷ δ'*

[243] *De compositione verborum* 25, trans. Roberts, 257.

ἦθει κνοώσσεις/ ἐν ἀτερπέι δούρατι χαλκεογόμφῳ δίχα νυκτὸς ἀλαμπεῖ/ κυανέῳ τε δνόφῳ σταλείς (And "Oh my baby," she moaned, "for my lot of anguish! – but thou, thou carest not: Adown sleep's flood is thy child-soul sweeping, though beams of brass-welded on every side make a darkness).[244] Dionysius has certainly proven his point: the reader cannot recognize strophe, antistrophe, and epode; Rhys Roberts remarks that so far no one has been able to demonstrate successfully the existence of all three parts of the triad.[245] Roberts also brings an illustrative example from English poetry: he reaaranges the opening lines of Tennyson's *Dora* to read as prose:

> With farmer Allan at the farm abode William and Dora. William was his son, she his niece. He often look'd at them and thought, 'I'll make them man and wife.' Now Dora felt her uncle's will in all, and yearn'd towards William; but the youth, because he had been always with her in the house, thought not of Dora.[246]

When read out as continuous prose, the effect of the poetic rhythm is lost. This is because the carrier of rhythm is no longer the poetic foot, but the individual word and clause.

Granted, a large part in the perception of rhythm is played by expectation. Thus one could argue that poetic lines are lost in prose because the audience does not expect the recurrence of the unit, and therefore does not recognize it as familiar.

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[244] Roberts, *De compositione verborum*, 281 (trans. cited as A. S. Way).

[245] Roberts, *De compositione verborum*, 279 n.12. See also Roberts' rearrangement of the opening of Tennyson's *Dora* on p. 271 n.16.

[246] Roberts, *De compositione verborum*, 271 n.16.

Dionysius' claim that the savvy rhetoricians use only partial poetic lines in order to avoid their detection is not quite accurate. For example, the lines from Demosthenes that Longinus and Choeroboscus quote are a line of full iambic trimeter and a line and a half of an almost regular dactylic hexameter: *δῆλον γὰρ ἐστι τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ὅτι* ("For it was clear to the Olynthians that," *Olynthiac* I.5) and *τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον δι' ὃν εἰς Ἐλάττειαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος* ("the enemy at Amphissa, on account of whom Philip went to Elatteia," *De corona* 143). Since those lines occur inidvidually and their pattern is not expected, the effect of the poetic rhythm dissapears. It is the case, after all, that the rhetoricians often stress the importance of mixing up *various* rhythms and emphasize that the rhythm of prose should not be overly regular, as we have already seen in the introduction. The lack of regularity, therefore, could be taken to account for the elusisiveness of the poetic feet. However, one must not forget that the rhetoricians also insist that prose has a rhythm of its own, which is more fluid than that of poetry but is still definite and measurable; it is not simply the mechanical sum of different poetic lines strewn together. Rather, it is because poetic lines get subsumed within that rhythm and change their *rhythmical*, if not *metrical*, nature that they escape notice.

Moreover, as Friedrich Blass has demonstrated through extensive analysis of the classical orators, metrical sequences in neighboring positions are often repeated in rhetorical prose, as for example, in the following excerpt from Isocrates' *Panegyricus*:

Γνοίη δ' ἄν τις/ καὶ τὸν τρόπον **a**

καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τὴν τῆς πόλε-	**a**
ως / ἐκ τῶν ἱκετειῶν	**b**
ἃς ἤδη τινὲς ἡμῖν	**b**
ἐποιήσαντο./ τὰς μὲν οὖν	**a**
ἢ νεωστεὶ γεγε-	**c** (= beginning of **d**)
νημένας/ ἢ περὶ μικρῶν ἐλθούσας	**d**
παραλείψω,/ πολὺ	**e**
δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν/	**e**
(ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ δίκαιον	**f** (= **a** without the last syllable)
τὰς πίστεις λαμβάνειν/	**f** (same,without the last 2 syllables)
τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων ἀμφισβητοῦντας)/	**d** (with one more syllable)
ἦλθον οἵ θ' Ἡρακλέους παῖδες/ καὶ μικρὸν	**d**
πρὸ τούτων/ Ἄδραστος ὁ Ταλαοῦ βα-	**g**
σιλεὺς ὢν Ἄργους,/ οὗτος …	the end of **e**[247]

(One may recognize/ [both] the ways and strength of this city/ from the appeals that peoples have made to us in the past./ I will pass over those which have happened recently/ or those which are about small things,/ but long before the Trojan war/ (for it is just that those who argue about ancestral issues/ should take their arguments from there) the sons of Heracles came/ and a little before them/ Adrastus, the son of Talaus, king of Argos,/ who…)[248]

The passage has been divided into lines according to the metrical sequences into which they fall. Thus the first two lines (marked with "**a**")are analyzed in the following way: ¯ ¯ ¯ ¯ ¯ ¯ ˘ ˘; "**b**" is ¯ ¯ ¯ ˘ ˘ ¯ ¯ ; "**e**" is ˘ ˘ ¯ ¯ ˘ ˘ ¯ , etc. Although they do not form easily recognizable poetic sequences – or, I should rather say, there are a few different ways in which one could divide them into the familiar poetic feet, the fact is that each of these sequences is repeated at least twice in adjacent positions. However, one notices immediately that the ends of the so-formed "lines" do not

[247] Friedrich Blass, *Die Rhythmen der asianischen und römischen Kunstprosa* (Leipzig: Georg Böhme, 1905), 157.

[248] Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 54.

coincide with the ends of the *kola*; in other words, the rhythm of the clauses is in a sort of "syncopated" relation with the metrical sequences. Because of that, the repetition of the sequences escapes detection; likewise, the appearance of easily identifiable poetic lines would go unnoticed.

Quintilian has an interesting example related to the rhythmical units of prose. In the last book of the *Institutio oratoriae* he quotes the following sentence from Cicero: Animadverti, judices, omnem accusatoris orationem in duas divisam esse partem ("I note, gentlemen, that the entire speech of the prosecution falls into two parts," *Pro Cluentio* 1.1). The sentence, he says, should be pronounced without a halt for breath (Hermogenes would call that a single *πνεύμα*), yet the rhythmicians (rhythmicos) would divide it into three parts: the first two words form the first unit, the next three the second unit, and the last four (stressed words) the third unit. Each unit causes a slight check in our breathing (spiritum sustinemus) even if the utterance is performatively continuous. Remember, says Quintilian, "that the feet of a runner, even though they do not linger where they fall, still leave a footprint;" likewise "even in parts that are absolutely continuous without a breathing space, there must be such almost imperceptibe pauses" (Currentum pes, etiamsi non moratur, tamen vestigium facit. Itaque […] in iis, quae non dubie contexta sunt nec respiratione utuntur, illi velut occulti gradus sint).[249] The analogy, in effect, points out that the pauses function to set off the rhythmical units from one another, just as the feet of a runner,

[249] *Institutio oratoria* 9.4.67-69; trans. H. E. Butler (Loeb Classical Library).

when touching the ground, set the rhythm of his movement. One cannot fail to notice that the sentence is rhythmically incremental: the units consist of two, three, and four words respectively. (This incremental effect would be lost if we take the syllable as the building block of the rhythm: the first unit consists of eight syllables, the second twelve, the third ten.) Thus the rhythm is not strictly regular, that is, the elements do not repeat each other's pattern exactly, but the overall effect is that of a rhythmical whole. It is the individual word that the rhythmical parts are built upon and depend on for their unity; the word is, therefore, the smallest building block. It functions in prose as the foot functions in poetry, while the larger units of the *kolon* and the *komma* act as the *metron* – and here I am echoing the beginning of Demetrius' treatise *Peri hermêneias*: "Just as verse is divided into its *metra*, such as the hemistich or the hexameter or the others, likewise the so-called *kola* divide and mark out prose style" (*ὥσπερ ἡ ποίησις διαιρεῖται τοῖς μέτροις, οἷον ἡμιμέτροις ἢ ἑξαμέτροις ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τὴν λογικὴν διαιρεῖ καὶ διακρίνει τὰ καλούμενα κῶλα*).[250] Demetrius' observation is repeated in a slightly different way by Siceliotes: "The *kolon* is a line, the *komma* is a complete minute part of thought; for example, [a *kolon* is] "Again [my] Jesus and again a mystery,"[251] while a *komma* is "Christ is born."[252] It is through these that the rhetorical line is measured out" (*κῶλον δέ ἐστι στίχος ἢ κόμμα*

[250] Demetrius, *Peri hermêneias* 1.1.

[251] Gregory of Nazianzus, *In sancta lumina* 1.1.

[252] Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Theophania* 1.1.

μερικὰς διανοίας ἀπαρτίζον, […] οἷον "πάλιν Ἰησοῦς καὶ πάλιν μυστήριον." κόμμα δὲ "Χριστὸς γεννᾶται," τούτοις γὰρ ὁ ῥητορικὸς στίχος καταμετρεῖται.)[253]

The conclusion that the word is the smallest rhythmical unit certainly puts in a new light remarks – such as Cicero's in *Orator* – that some figures of speech involve such symmetry that rhythm is the necessary result. Equally balanced clauses, he says, antithesis, and *homoioteleuton* naturally produce a rhythmical utterance.[254] If the word is taken as the basic rhythmical unit, it becomes much easier to explain how this could be the case. Equally balanced clauses usually contain the same number of words and an approximately similar number of syllables; an antithesis is generally built on the prinicple of isolexia as well; and an *homoioteleuton* produces a sense of rhythmical flow because it draws the attention vertically to the paired words. The result is rhythmical prose.

My goal here, however, is not to provide a comprehensive history of prose rhythm, but simply to outline some of the historical context for the development of homiletic prose rhythm. If I use examples from classical, Hellenistic, or late antique oratory, it is because meticulous analysis, memorization, and imitation of the classical authors were the dominant methods of grammatical and rhetorical

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[253] Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 6, 82. The analogy is obviously with the poetic line. The implication is that the Byzantines drew a much clearer distinction between prose and poetry than we sometimes give them credit for: poetry is not simply metered discourse. Thus the meaning of *logos* in John Mauropous' poem at the beginning of his own selection of literary works, which opposes *λόγοι ἔμμετροι* and *λόγοι οὐκ ἔμμετροι*, should perhaps be interpeted as "argumentative discourse," and not simply "discourse." (Phrase cited in Lauxtermann, "Velocity of Pure Iambs," 21. The poem in found in P. de Lagarde, *Ioannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice Vaticano graeco 676 supersunt* vol. 1, vv. 26-28 (Göttingen, 1882).

instruction and, consequently, production. The Byzantines took part in an unbroken tradition of rhetorical education and practice which stretched back to classical Greece, and were keenly aware of the rhetorical style and rhythms of their predecessors.[255] While the syllabic quantities were, of course, lost to the ear of the uneducated Byzantine, the educated elite continued to compose quantitative poetry and was, without doubt, aware of quantitative patterns in rhetorical prose, as abundantly testified by the rhetorical commentaries. However, since the Byzantine public no longer recognized those quantitative sequences, stress accent became the main vehicle of prose rhythm.

If the educated Byzantine elite were able to perceive the quantitative sequences in classical and late antique oratory, in what way were uneducated Byzantines able to recognize and appreciate the rhythms in the orations of the early Church Fathers? Michael Psellos emphatically praises the rhythmical character of the discourses of Gregory of Nazianzus and the effect they had on the audience – and Psellos must have based his observations on mixed eleventh-century congregations. The rhythms of the Theologian, he says, make his listeners not only explode in applause but even strike up a dance (see p. 105 above). Although we should certainly allow for rhetorical amplification in interpreting this passage – it would be hard to imagine that the church congregations would literally line up and begin dancing at

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[254] *Orator* 220.

[255] On Byzantine educational practices, see Chapter 3.

the sound of a particular phrase – one could perhaps reasonably claim that the audience responded to the rhythms, especially if they were familiar, by clapping their hands or stomping their feet. This was, after all, a common response to declamation in late antiquity, as witnessed by the author of *On the Sublime*.[256] Moreover, spontaneous or orchestrated applause was frequent during the delivery of a Byzantine homily.[257] If we take the word as the basic rhythmical unit, then it becomes easy to explain why middle and late Byzantine audiences were able to recognize and respond rhythmically to early homiletic oratory, although they had lost their ear to syllabic quantities: the rhythmical sequences were still apparent to them.

ASIANISM AND THE BYZANTINE HOMILY

Perhaps another reason the early Church Fathers' rhythms continued to be recognized and appreciated by later audiences is that many of them employed or were related to the so-called Asiatic style of oratory, which is said to have appeared in the third century BC and is associated with the name of Hegesias of Magnesia and, later, with Timaeus the historian, Hierocles and Menecles of Alabanda,

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[256] If the rhetorical discourse is overly rhythmical, the audience foresees the due ending for themselves and begins to keep the time with their feet (*Peri hypseôs*, 41). In a similar vein, Aelius Aristides describes an incident in which a certain orator chose to end all his paragraphs on the same sing-songy refrain. The effect was quite disastrous, remarks Aristides gloatingly, because the audience began to anticipate and shout out the refrain while stomping their feet to the rhythm long before the speaker had actually reached the end, thus ruining the performance (*Oration* 34: Against Those Who Burlesque the Mysteries of Oratory, 47).

[257] On audience response to homily delivery, see notes below.

Aeschylus of Cnidus, Aeschines of Miletus, and Antiochus of Commagene among others.[258] Not very many examples of the early Asiatic style survive due to the intellectual success of its rival, the Attic style. As a self-conscious movement, Atticism appeared around the first century BC as a reaction to some stylistic extremes of the Asiatics. Atticism identified the classical, mainstream Attic orators like Isocrates, Lysias, Isaeus, and Demosthenes as examples of the highest achievement of oratory and saw their imitation as the main goal of rhetorical education. Its attitude toward Asianism is, perhaps, best exemplified in Dionysius' comparison of the "old" and "noble" rhetoric with the chaste, wise, and dignified mistress of the house who has been replaced by a profligate and vicious harlot, the "new" rhetoric, who has arrived "only yesterday from some Asiatic death-hole" and terrorizes the lawful wife, bent on destroying her estate.[259] The Atticists claimed for themselves intellectual and aesthetic superiority; the Asiatics, however, seemed to have enjoyed huge popularity with the less educated, mixed city audiences.[260] Although Dionysius proclaims that, because of the virtuous rule of the Romans, the

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[258] Cicero, *Brutus* 325.

[259] Dionysius, *Peri tôn archaiôn rhêtorôn* 1. The popularity of the Asiatic style is connected with ideas of decline in the art of rhetoric during the imperial period (with contemporary rhetoric descried as the "new" style) and the establishment of the so-called canon of the ten Attic orators: Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides, Lycurgus, and Dinarchus. For more on that question, see Konrad Heldman's detailed study *Antike Theorien über Entwicklung und Verfall der Redekunst* (München: C. H. Beck, 1982), also George Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Pres, 1999), 130-33 and Eduard Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa: vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Christ bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1915), vol. 1, 251-300.

[260] Cf. Cicero, for example, *Brutus* 326-27 (on Hortensius' success as an orator); also Lucian, *Rhetorum praeceptor*; and Quintilian, *Institutio oratoriae* X.1.43.

impostor harlot has been turned out and the old Attic rhetoric restored to its rightful place of honor, in practice the Asiatic style survived in various forms, and most notably for Byzantine rhetoric, in the orations of the Church Fathers.[261]

The Atticists had many complaints about the style of their rivals: it was boastful and empty, redundant and puerile in its balance and antithesis; it employed highfalutin language and effeminate Ionian rhythms; it chopped the discourse into small fragments and short rhythms and used the same rhythms over and over again – the list is too long to continue.[262] Cicero divides the Asiatic style into two types: the one sententious and studied, characterized by balance and symmetry, the other impetuous and redundant, combined with ornate and refined words.[263] Of the first type, chief representatives were Hegesias, Hierocles, and Menecles;[264] the author of *Peri hypseôs* also adds the fifth-century BC sophist Gorgias as Hegesias' predecessor,[265] although Hegesias himself claimed to be an imitator of Lysias, who is

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[261] For a fuller analysis and history of the Asiatic style, see Norden, vol. 1, 130-54, 251-300, 355-392; see also Cecil Wooten, "Le développement du style asiatique pendant l'époque hellénistique," *Revue des etudes grecques* 88 (1975): 94-104; Laurent Pernot, *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain* (Paris: 1993), vol. 1, 371-80; and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Asianismus und Attizismus," *Hermes* 35 (1900): 1-52.

[262] See, for example, Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 12.6; *Brutus* 51, 286-87, 325-26; *Orator* 27, 212, 223-26, 230-31; Dionysius *De compositione verborum* 4 and 18, *Demosthenes* 43; Lucian, *Rhetorum praeceptor*; Theon, *Progymnasmata* (Spengel, 71); Plutarch, *Lives: Antonius* 2; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoriae* 10.1.43, 10.1.80, 12.10.16-17; Suetonius 2.86; the author of *Peri hypseôs* 3.2.

[263] *Brutus* 325.

[264] Wooten, "Le style asiatique," 100; Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, 140-49.

[265] *Peri hypseôs* 3.2.

generally thought of as a chief representative of the Attic style. The following is one of the extant fragments of Hegesias:

> *Ὁρῶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ περιττῆς τριαίνης ἐκεῖθι σημεῖον, ὁρῶ τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γέγονα μύστης. Ἐκεῖνο Λεωκόριον, τοῦτο Θησεῖον. Οὐ δύναμαι δηλῶσαι καθ' ἕν ἕκαστον.*[266]
>
> (I see the acropolis and the sign there of the prodigious trident. I see Eleusis, and of its sacred mysteries I have become an initiate. There is the Leocorium, here is the Theseium. I cannot point them out one by one.)

One can immediately notice that his style is, in fact, characterized by a certain disconnectedness, (i.e., lack of appropriate transitions), by short, self-contained *kola*, which are, in fact, *kommata*, by a deliberate and obvious balance of phrase, and by a somewhat eccentric word order. Compared to the flowing periodic discourse of the classical orators, this style appears abrupt and dislocated. In addition, Cicero charges Hegesias with a perverse taste for the same rhythms and violent modulations of voice in performance, so that the discourse acquires a sing-songy feel and resembles a series of verselets.[267] The Asiatics, he says, prefer the ditrochee, and while there is nothing wrong with a ditrochaic ending in itself – as a matter of fact, it has been used quite successfully – its excessive use will keep the rhythm always the same, and that is one of the worst vices of prose discourse. The Asiatics are slaves to rhythm; they will fill up their utterances with empty words for the sake of accommodating the

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[266] Strabo, *Geography* 9.1.16.

[267] *Orator* 27, 226,and 231.

rhythm.[268] To these charges, Lucian adds another: his teacher of rhetoric recommends to the new student to "intone everything and turn it into a song" (*πάντα σοι ᾀδέσθω καὶ μέλος γιγνέσθω*)[269] – the phrase rhymes in Greek and thus exposes another "vice" which, according to the Atticists, is to be carefully avoided. Rhyme, in fact, is a powerful tool for creating rhythm: it groups words "vertically," marking off the phrases between them as individual rhythmical units.

Cicero's complaint that the Asiatics use too many of the same rhythms is somewhat modified by Blass, who argues that what makes the Asiatic rhythms especially conspicuous is not necessarily the repetition of the exact same sequences over and over again, but the use of the same sequences in adjoining, self-contained phrases. This is how Blass analyzes, for example, the beginning of the fragment of Hegesias' history of Alexander the Great (found in Dionysius):

> *Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔχων τὸ* ***σύνταγμα προηγεῖτο*** *//* a
> ***καί πως ἐβεβούλευτο*** *//* ***τῶν πολεμίων τοῖς ἀρίστοις*** *//* a, a
> *ἀπάντᾶν εἰσιόντι*
> *τοῦτο* ***γὰρ ἔγνωστο*** *//* b
> ***κρατήσασιν*** *ἑνὸς* ***συνεκβαλεῖν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος*** *//* b, c
> ***ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐλπὶς αὕτη*** *συνέδραμεν εἰς τὸ τολμᾶν…*[270] c
>
> (The king advanced, leading his division. And somehow among the leaders of the enemy [a plan] was formed to meet [him] as he approached. For they

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[268] *Orator* 212-14 and 231.

[269] *Rhetorum praeceptor* 19 (trans. from A. M. Harmon, Loeb Classical Library). Lucian, like Plutarch (*Lives: Antony* 2), Ammianus Marcellinus 30.4.14, Quintilian (*Institutio oratoriae* 2.5.21ff, 8.5.32, 9.4.3ff), Dionysius (*De compositione verborum* 18), and many other ancient authors, associates the Asiatic style with moral degradation. His teacher of rhetoric is egotistic, boastful, effeminate, and avaricious.

[270] Blass, *Die Rhythmen*, 19 (bolding and letter markers mine).

surmised that, if they overcame [him] alone, they would drive out [all his] host [as well]. This hope, then, ran with them on the path of daring…)[271]

The phrase *σύνταγμα προηγεῖτο* as a metrical sequence is equivalent to *καί πως ἐβεβούλευτο* (– – ˘ ˘ – – ˘) and almost equivalent, except for the substitution of one short for one long syllable, to *τῶν πολεμίων τοῖς ἀ-* (– ˘ ˘ ˘ – – ˘): thus the last two words of the first sentence are repeated, metrically speaking, by the first three words of the next clause, then repeated again in the beginning of the third clause. Similarly, the sequence *γὰρ ἔγνωστο*, which ends the fourth clause, is repeated in the beginning of the fifth clause, and the end of the fifth clause is made the beginning of the sixth clause. These recurring sequences are often comprised of nearly independent strings of words; they are not "syncopated" with respect to the beginnings and endings of the individual clauses, as is done in Isocrates' prose, but coincide with them. This, according ot Blass, creates an overly rhythmical feel to prose[272] and certainly explains Theon's complaint that the Asiatic style was *both* metrical and rhythmical.[273]

The second type of Asiatic style is represented by Aeschines of Miletus, Aeschylus of Cnidus, and Antiochus of Commagene[274] as well as a number of extant letters of imperial bureaucrats from the first half of the second century BC. It is

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[271] Trans. adapted from Roberts, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, 187-89.

[272] Blass, *Die Rhythmen*, 21.

[273] Theon, *Progymnasmata* (ed. Rabe), 71.

[274] Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa,* 141-44, quotes in full a long fragment from Antiochus.

characterized by very long sentences, rare and poetic vocabulary, and redundancy of phrase.[275] Quintilian calls it "empty and inflated," "voluptuous and affected," and claims that it is a fitting product of the Asiatic character, since the Asiatics are "naturally" given to "bombast and ostentation."[276] Some critics remark that it resembles dithyrambs in prose because of its choice of extravagant compound words.[277] I will, however, return to the first Asiatic type, since it is much more relevant to my discussion.

Despite the Atticists' desire to proclaim the death of all Asianism, the first Asiatic style proved very resilient, because, on the one hand, some of its features were well-received by large mixed audiences, and on the other, its bold use of balance and antithesis became a convenient tool for expressing the complexities of Byzantine theology. Its popularity is connected with the rise of declamation during the so-called Second Sophistic, which roughly coincides with the Roman imperial period. The home ground of the Second Sophistic was Asia Minor and, although no orator professed openly to be a follower of Asianism, the Asiatic tradition was continued in declamation. Declamation was the public delivery of a speech, either prepared or improvised on the spot, usually on a subject from Greek history, with the

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[275] Wooten, "Le style asiatique," 101.

[276] *Institutio oratoriae* 12.16-17 (trans. H. E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library).

[277] Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, 145-46.

purpose of demonstrating a sophist's rhetorical powers.[278] Because imitation of the classical orators was considered the goal of rhetorical practice, and no Asiatic orator had achieved such status, the sophists often turned to Gorgias for inspiration.[279] The ultimate judge of sophistic declamation was the audience, for whom the Gorgianic style, with its short and balanced clauses, clear rhythms, and readily noticeable figures of speech, was much easier to follow upon first hearing than the syntactically convoluted, long, and flowing periods of the Attic orators, which were more suited for leisurely reading.[280]

Some features of the Asiatic style are "not to be altogether despised," claims Cicero. He maintains that, although the Asiatic orators are far removed from the Attic norm, they compensate with either ease, fluency (*vel facultate, vel copia)*,[281] or swiftness (*celeritas*).[282] Further, he praises the use of shorter clauses (*incisa, membra*) as

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[278] According to Kennedy (*Classical Rhetoric*, 45-46), declamation is a "hybrid of handbook and sophistic rhetoric:" the rhetoric students were required to compose speeches according to an established set of models, which were either famous classical examples or speeches of their teachers as to be delivered before the law courts. The public performance of these speeches became a form of entertainment. For more on declamation, see Donald A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); George Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 83-84, 166-72, 188-90, 230-32, 237-39.

[279] Kennedy, *New History*, 231.

[280] Edward Schiappa (*The Beginnings of Rhetorical Theory in Classical Greece* (New Haven: Yale, 1999), 93) argues that periodic writing, although it makes an early appearance in Greek prose, is a sign of the spread of literacy in the fifth and fourth century BC. Cultures accustomed to oral composition emphasize stylistic devices which would aid memory and which would be fairly simple to comprehend upon hearing: in Homer, for example, *kai* (and) is the primary syntactical connective. It is significant that Isocrates' compositions, which exemplify periodic writing in its extreme, were reportedly never performed.

[281] *Orator* 231.

[282] *Brutus* 51.

very effective: they strike the hearer with phrases of two or three words (*nec ullum genus est dicendi aut melius aut fortius quam binis aut ternis ferire verbis*).[283] Cicero's main issue with the Asiatics is not that they employed certain rhythms or that their clauses were too short, but that, on the one hand, they employed too many of the same rhythms and made their speeches to resemble poetry, and on the other, their discourses were "choppy," i.e., they lacked cohesion of expression.[284] Cicero himself seems to be in favor of a style that lies somewhere in the middle between Atticism and Asianism: he was, after all, a student of Apollonius Molon of Alabanda,[285] whom Quintilian credits with the founding of the Rhodean school,[286] which sought to avoid the extremes of both Atticism and Asianism, thus mixing elements from both.

This mixture of Attic and Asiatic elements, or to put it more accurately, of Attic diction with Asiatic syntax, figures, and rhythms appears even among the compositions of a staunch Atticist such as the second century AD sophist Aelius Aristides. His *Monody for Smyrna* indulges in carefully balanced, short, detached clauses, and conspicuous rhetorical figures:

> *ὦ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἐναγισμάτων ἡμέρα.* (1)
> *ὦ κοινὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀποφρὰς,*

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[283] *Orator* 226.

[284] *Orator* 226-27.

[285] *Brutus* 316.

[286] *Institutio oratoriae* XII.10.16.

οἵαν κεφαλὴν τοῦ γένους ἀπήνεγκας.
οἷον ἐξεῖλες ὀφθαλμόν.
ὦ γῆς ἄγαλμα, *(5)*
ὦ θέατρον τῆς Ἑλλάδος,
ὦ Νυμφῶν καὶ Χαρίτων ὕφασμα.
ὦ πάντα ὑπομείνας ἐγὼ,
ποῦ γῆς νυνὶ μονῳδῶ;
ποῦ μοι τὸ βουλευτήριον; *(10)*
ποῦ νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων σύνοδοι καὶ θόρυβοι διδόντων ἅπαντα;
ἦν ποτε ἐν τῷ Σιπύλῳ πόλις, ἣν κατὰ τῆς λίμνης δῦναι λόγος.
ὦ Σμύρνα, ὡς πόρρωθέν σοι τὸ προοίμιον ᾄδετο.
οἵας ἐκληρονόμησας τύχης, ὡς ἥκιστα σαυτῇ προσηκούσης.
νῦν ἔδει μὲν πάντας οἰωνοὺς εἰς πῦρ ἐνάλλεσθαι, παρέχει δ' ἡ πόλις ἄφθονον(15)
πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ἤπειρον ἀποκείρασθαι,
πάντως αὐτῆς ὁ βόστρυχος οἴχεται·
νῦν ποταμοὺς δάκρυσι ῥυῆναι,
νῦν ὁλκάδας ἐκπλεῦσαι μέλασι τοῖς ἱστίοις.[287]

(O day of offerings to the dead for all races! O unmentionable [day] shared by all Greeks, such a crown of the race you have carried off! Such an apple of the eye you have destroyed! O glory of the earth, stage-theater of Greece! O robe of the Nymphs and Graces! Woe is me who survived everything; where on earth should I lament? Where is the council chamber? Where are the gatherings and clamor of young and old, making offerings of everything? Once there was in Sipylus a city for which there is a legend that it sank into the lake. O Smyrna, as if long ago was sung for you the proemium! Such a fate you inherited as least belongs to you! Now all birds of prey should rush to the pyre, yet the city supplies bountifully. All the earth must be shorn, for its hair is gone altogether! Now the rivers must overflow with tears, now the merchant-ships must depart with black sails!)

The passage has an elevated tone and employs identical and chiastic syntactical structures (*ὦ γῆς ἄγαλμα,/ ὦ θέατρον τῆς Ἑλλάδος*), as well as metaphor, anaphora (*οἵαν…οἷον…, ποῦ… ποῦ… ποῦ…, ἦν… ἣν…*), alliteration (*ὡς πόρρωθέν σοι τὸ προοίμιον ᾄδετο*), and occasionally, rhyme (*ἀποφρὰς – ἀπήνεγκας, ἐκληρονόμησας τύχης – σαυτῇ*

[287] W. Dindorf, *Aristides* (Leipzig: Reimer, 1829), vol. 1, 424-28 (line numbering mine). Aristides composed the *Monody* after an earthquake all but leveled the city of Smyrna, which he had made his home. The *Monody* was sent to the emperor Marcus Aurelius in a plea for help in restoring the city.

προσηκούσης); its clauses are short and self-contained. The predominant metrical feet are spondees and ionics, which are preferred by the Asiatics. Moreover, the boundaries of the feet or of identical metrical sequences often coincide with the ends or near-ends of words or phrases, making the rhythm especially conspicuous: line 8, for example, is like line 9, which also closes the question: *ὦ πάντα ὑπομείνας = ποῦ γῆς νυνὶ μονῳδῶ* (– – ◡ ◡ ◡ – – –); in line 11 (*ποῦ νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων σύνοδοι καὶ θόρυβοι διδόντων ἅπαντα*) there is an alternation of a cretic, an ionic, a bacchic, another ionic, and two cretics, plus an extra long syllable at the end. Likewise, line 12 begins on a dactyl and an ionic, plus an extra long (*ἦν ποτε ἐν τῷ Σιπύλῳ*), which form a phrase of their own. In other words, the metrical sequences emphasize individual words and self-contained phrases – one of the rhythmical features of the Asiatic style, according to Blass.

Thus it seems that certain features the Asiatic style, and most notably, the short, "disconnected," self-contained clause, as well as repetition and parallelism in various forms, were not spurned even by Asianism's sworn enemies. Yet perhaps most important for the development of Byzantine prose rhythm is that the combination of these characteristics drew attention to the individual word. To illustrate this, I quote another example from Aristides:

> *τίνες οὕτως ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις οἰκοῦσι;*
> *τίνες οὕτω τῶν καλῶν ἀναίσθητοι;*
> *τίς οὐ δακρύσει τῆς φήμης ἐπελθούσης; […]*
> *ὦ ποθεινὸς μὲν τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσι,*
> *ποθεινὸς δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐντυχεῖν…*

The emperor was reportedly moved to tears and quickly remitted all necessary aid (Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 9).

(*Epitaph in Honor of Alexander*, 31-33)

> (Who dwell as far as the ends of the earth?
> Who are so insensitive to what is beautiful?
> Who will not weep when the report suddenly arrives? […]
> Desired by those who have met you,
> to meet you was desired by the rest…)[288]

The two-word anaphora of the first two lines emphasizes the latter two words in each clause (and the end of the clause in general), while the cumulative effect of the extra word after the anaphora of the third line rounds off, as it were, the semantic sequence. The same effect is sought in the fourth and fifth line, where we have anaphora combined with epiphora and paronomasia; the sense of completion depends again on the accumulation of words in line 5. The result is a heighteneed sense of the rhythm-bearing role of the individual word.

The spread of Christianity, with its egalitarian ideals, produced audiences of unprecedented mix, from slaves to wealthy landowners, to intellectuals and bureaucrats, including women. Thus homilies that would be understood by and appeal to every member of the congregation became a necessity, especially given the fact that the practical transmission of Christianity happened, to a large extent, through preaching. The question of the appearance and development of the homiletic tradition is very broad; here I will just touch upon some important points for the sake

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[288] Trans. Charles Behr, *Aelius Aristides: The Complete Works* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), vol. 2, 163-64. The example belongs to Jean-Luc Vix (paper read at the 14th Biennial Congress of the International Society for the History of Rhetoric, Madrid, July 15th, 2003).

of context.[289] The origins of the Christian homiletic tradition have been identified, in varying degrees, with the different types of sermons that flourished in the Jewish synagogue, with the late antique so-called *diatribe* (the informal ethical and philosophical preaching of Stoic and Cynic philosophers), the epistolary tradition, Hebrew poetry, and Syriac poetry.[290] Early preaching sought to disassociate itself from pagan rhetoric: the language of St. Paul the Apostle, for example, is markedly unrhetorical when he refers to his own public speaking.[291] In addition, the Christian message of "truth" was opposed to traditional Greek "wisdom," i.e., philosophy, because even the "foolishness of God" is better than the "wisdom of men." Although

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[289] For an overview of the rhetorical origins of Byzantine homilies, see Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, 137-82; also Ingunn Lunde's chapters "Rhetoric and Homiletics" and "Epideictic Rhetoric and Christian Homiletics" in *Verbal Celebrations: Kirill of Turov's Homiletic Rhetoric and Its Byzantine Sources* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 30-84; for a more general overview of the development of the homiletic tradition from the Patristic to the middle Byzantine period, see Antonopoulou, "The Development of the Byzantine Homiletic Tradition (Fourth-Tenth Centuries)" in *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* , 95-115, which is perhaps the most accessible introduction to Byzantine homiletics I have encountered so far; for a more audience-oriented approach, see Mary Cunningham, "Preaching and the Community" in *Church and People in Byzantium: Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Twelfth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (Manchester, 1986)* (University of Birmingham: Center for Byzantine, Ottoman, and Modern Greek Studies, 1990), 29-47. Other useful studies: E. Mühlenberg and J. Van Oort, eds. *Predigt in der alten Kirche* (Kampen, 1994); Mango, *The Homilies of Photius*; D. G. Hunter, ed., *Preaching in the Patristic Age: Studies in Honor of Walter J. Burghardt, S. J.* (New York, Paulist Press,1989). For the relation between the Christian homily and the epistolary tradition, see George Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* (Thessaloniki: Patriarchikon Idryma Paterikôn Meletôn, 1973), 44-53.

[290] See Alistair Stewart-Sykes, *From Prophecy to Preaching* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) and *The Lamb's High Feast* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); also Antonopoulou, *Homilies of Leo*, 95-97; Lunde, *Verbal Celebrations*, 30-37; Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, 155-57, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 182-83; Lawrence Wills, "The Form of the Sermon in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity," *Harvard Theological Review* 77 (1984): 277-99; Clifton C. Black II, "The Rhetorical Form of the Hellenistic Jewish and Early Christian Sermon: A Response to Lawrence Wills," *Harvard Theological Review* 81 (1988): 1-18.

[291] Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, 131-32; also Lunde, *Verbal Celebrations*, 31 n. 6: Paul uses words like *εὐαγγελίζω, κηρύσσω, καταγγέλλω, μαρτυρέω* ("to bring good news," "to proclaim," "to declare," "to bear witness").

Christian preachers did not hesitate to make use of pagan rhetoric in order to reach the hearts of their audiences, the initial relation between rhetoric and preaching was, at best, uneasy, until the so-called Golden Age of Patristic literature (second through fifth centuries), when the status of pagan literature and rhetoric was restored – and not only for the purposes of rhetorical instruction, but also in an effort to raise the standards of preaching.[292] The early Christian audiences expected a certain amount of rhetorical training in a priest and would often wait impatiently for the more stylized passages in a homily.[293] Given the heterogeneous character of the congregations and the complexities of Byzantine theology, it is reasonable to suppose that the homilists would look for a language which would be uncomplicated enough yet rhetorically pleasing (in order to satisfy everyone's expectations), simple yet sophisticated (in order to convey theological subtleties), and all the while memorable (in order that the message may stay with the congregation, the larger part of whom relied on the homily to teach them the basic tenets of Christianity). The Asiatic style fit this description well: its rhetorical devices were easy to notice, its penchant for

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[292] See Basil of Caesarea, *Address to Young Men* (Nigel Wilson, *Saint Basil on the Value of Greek Literature* (London: Duckworth, 1975)), in which he defends the use of pagan literature insofar as it aids the cultivation of virtue; for a comprehensive introduction to the Christian use of classical literature, see Ihor Ševcenko, "A Shadow Outline of Virtue: The Classical Heritage of Greek Christian Literature (Second to Seventh Century)" in Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *The Age of Spirituality: A Symposium* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980; also Herbert Hunger, "On the Imitation (*Mimêsis*) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23 (1969-1970): 15-38.

[293] See Constantine's oration *To the Assembly of Saints* (*PG* 20: 1234-1315; cited in Antonopoulou, *Homilies of Leo*, 105); also John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Priesthood* (Anne-Marie Malingrey, ed., trans., *Sur le Sacerdoce* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1980), V. 1-6, 284-96), who remarks on the power of speech and says that if a priest is to win the respect of his audience, he needs some rhetorical training (cited in Cunnigham, "Preaching and the Community," 34 n. 22).

antithesis and parallelism proved a useful tool for the paradoxes of Byzantine theology,[294] and its rhythms made it easy to memorize.

The following is a (much-quoted but very illustrative) excerpt from the beginning of the Easter sermon of the second-century homilist Melito of Sardis:

> *Τοίνυν ξύνετε, ὦ ἀγαπητοί· οὕτως ἐστὶν*
> *καινὸν καὶ παλαιόν,/ ἀΐδιον καὶ πρόσκαιρον,*
> *φθαρτὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον,/ θνητὸν καὶ ἀθάνατον*
> *τὸ τοῦ πάσχα μυστήριον·*
> *παλαιὸν μὲν κατὰ τὸν νόμον,/ καινὸν δὲ κατὰ τὸν λόγον,*
> *πρόσκαιρον διὰ τὸν τύπον,/ ἀΐδιον διὰ τὴν χάριν,*
> *φθαρτὸν διὰ τὴν τοῦ προβάτου σφαγήν,/ ἄφθαρτον διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ζωήν,*
> *θνητὸν διὰ τὴν ⟨ἐν τῇ γῇ⟩ ταφήν,/ ἀθάνατον διὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν·*
> *παλαιὸς μὲν ὁ νόμος,/ καινὸς δὲ ὁ λόγος,*
> *πρόσκαιρος ὁ τύπος,/ ἀΐδιος ἡ χάρις,*
> *φθαρτὸν τὸ πρόβατον,/ ἄφθαρτος ὁ κύριος,*
> *σφαγεὶς ὡς ἀμνός,/ ἀναστὰς ὡς θεός.*[295]
>
> (Take heed, therefore, beloved, how the mystery of Pascha is/ old and new,/ eternal and transient,/ perishable and imperishable,/ mortal and immortal./ It is old according to the Law,/ but new according to the Word,/ transient according to the type,/ eternal according to grace./ Perishable as far as the slaying of the sheep,/ imperishable through the life of the Lord,/ mortal on account of the earthly tomb,/ immortal on account of the resurrection from the dead./ The Law is old,/ the Word is new,/ the type is transient,/ grace is eternal,/ the sheep is perishable,/ the Lord is imperishable,/ slain as a lamb,/ yet risen as God.)

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[294] On antithesis, parallelism, and apophaticism as indispensable tools for meaning-generation in Byzantine theology, see Lunde, *Verbal Celebrations*, 37-63. See also Alexandre Olivar, *La predicación christiana antigua* (Barcelona: Editorial Herder, 1991), 154-55 on rhetorical devices as a tool that aided audience comprehension.

[295] O. Perler, *Méliton de Sardes. Sur la Pâque et fragments* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966), 60-126. On Melito's homily and its context, see Stewart-Sykes, *The Lamb's High Feast*; Thomas Halton, "Stylistic Device in Melito's *Peri pascha*" in Granfield, Patrick and Jose Andreas Jungman, eds., *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, vol. 1 (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1970).

This is, perhaps, a more extreme example of the use of the Asiatic style in a homily. For all its ostentation and artificiality (as the Atticists would say), it achieves two important goals: it presents complex theological ideas in an easily digestible form, while retaining high rhetorical standards and employing memorable rhythms. The passage is built entirely on the principle of antithesis: the events at the Resurrection, which coincided with the feast of the Passover, are old insofar as they observed the law, but new as far as the promise delivered by Christ; they are transient insofar as they have been anticipated by certain events in the Old Testament,[296] yet eternal according to the grace of God which came with Christ, etc. At the same time, the paradoxical expression of these ideas creates a sense of mystery, which is the main theme of the homily. The clauses "strike the listener" (as Cicero would say) with short, self-contained, and syntactically identical phrases, which create a rhythm based entirely on words. As by the second century AD the quantitative values had begun to disappear to the demotic ear – which was Melito's main audience – it would be misleading to think that the homilist relied only on metrical feet to impress his listeners with his rhythms. Yet if we were to look for quantitative feet in the passage, we would find that it is built overwhelmingly on spondees, in accordance

[296] Byzantine exegesis upholds the idea, first proposed by Paul and later developed systematically by Origen, that the events in the New Testament were prefigured symbolically by certain events in the Old Testament, called "types" (*typoi*) and "figures" (*schemata*). For example, the incarnation of Christ through the Virgin Mary was prefigured in the event with Moses and the burning bush: just as the perishable bush held the fire of God but did not burn, so did the Virgin contain God himself in her womb, but was not destroyed. Similarly, the sacrificing of lambs during the feast of Passover was seen as a prefiguration of the sacrifice of Christ. On Melito's typology in particular and the Quartodecimans, see Stewart-Sykes, *The Lamb's High Feast*, 31-54.

with the solemnity of the subject matter – thus Melito would have been able to satisfy the expectations of the more educated members of his congregation. However, he relies mostly on the individual word to build a rhythm that would be memorable and widely recognizable. Thus the proper vehicle of rhythm becomes the stress accent and the pause at the end of each clause.

Of course, it would be a mistake to put *all* homiletic production under the umbrella of the Asiatic style, which during the early period was employed most notably by the so-called Cappadocian Fathers[297] and more often in panegyrical than exegetical homilies. After the seventh century there is a deliberate attempt to raise the literary level of preaching;[298] thereby homilies become more polished and carefully wroght, with "hymnic" parts (resembling Melito's excerpt above) alternating with more "straightforward" exegetical and deliberative parts. The surviving homiles by Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, and the patriarch Germanos are often described as encomia – a term frequently used to signify not so much the genre, as the level of rhetorical stylization, the use of *kommatic* style and conspicuous rhythms (i.e., Asiatic devices). The authors of the ninth century follow in the footsteps of the seventh and eighth: the sermons of Theodore of Stoudios,

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[297] St. Basil of Caesarea, his brother St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Gregory of Nazianzus.

[298] Mary Cunningham, "The Sixth Century: A Turning Point for Byzantine Homiletics?" in Allen, Pauline and Elizabeth Jeffreys, eds. *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* (Brisbane: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1996), 184: this is how Cunningham interprets Canon 19 of the Council in Trullo (692 AD), which enjoins on preachers to use a text from the Church Fathers should they doubt their own rhetorical powers; Cunningham makes that argument in connection with the longer and more stylistically polished character of seventh and eighth century homilies – and I find it quite convincing.

George of Nikomedia, and Leo the Wise employ high style, poetic imagery, and typological expressions.[299] During the ninth century we also see the appearance of compilations of homilies from the earlier Fathers, arranged according to the liturgical calendar.[300] It is worth noticing that the "Asiatic" homilies of the Cappadocian Fathers and those similar in style form the bulk of the compilations – due, perhaps, in no small part, to their intelligibility and popularity with larger audiences.[301]

This is perhaps the place to make a few remarks about the general intelligibility of a Byzantine homily. The opinion that after the second or third century AD the Greek demotic public would not have been able to understand or appreciate a speech composed in archaizing Attic vocabulary and high rhetorical style has been stubbornly persistent in scholarly discussions.[302] However, the testimony we have of lively interactions between preacher and audience speak otherwise. The homilies of the more famous and highly esteemed preachers were

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[299] Cunningham, "Preaching and the Community," 40.

[300] Antonopoulou, *Homilies of Leo*, 109-111: Antonopoulou connects the appearance of compilations with the general drop in the level of education among the population and among priests – in the light of which Cunningham's argument that during that period there was a deliberate attempt to raise the literary level of preaching fits very well (see note above). Occasionally, middle Byzantine *typika* would contain instructions for the reading of a patristic homily, either in full or in part, from a collection (see Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei* vol. 1, 226-27). During the period of the seventh and eighth centuries, homilies ceased to be preached during the liturgy (Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 366, explains that with the appearance and popularity of the *kontakion* as a genre) and found their place during morning and evening services (Cunningham, "Preaching and the Community," 36).

[301] See Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1938), vol. 2, 1-305.

[302] Jan N. Barkhuizen, for example, provides a list of objections to the intelligibility of Proclus' homilies to the general public ("Proclus of Contsantinople: A Popular Preacher in Fifth-Century Constantinople," in Allen and Cunningham, *Preacher and Audience*, 186) – but argues the opposite.

taken down stenographically, then copied and included in various collections; we have records of this practice not only in the early, but also in the middle Byzantine period.[303] These homilies occasionally contain spontaneous remarks in reference to unforeseen incidents, which show the level of engagement between preacher and audience. Applause was common and so were remarks from the congregation, on the content of the homily, on the difficulty of hearing the preacher well, or on the excessive length of the exegesis.[304] There is a widespread assumption, as Jan Barkhizen remarks, that a rhetorically well-constructed sermon is less effective and less intelligible for the general public,[305] but in fact, the opposite must have been true, judging by the popularity of preachers like Proclus,[306] whose homilies are an example of high (Asiatic) style. Of course, one could always argue that the published version of the homilies differed from the *ex tempore*-delivered original; however, as

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[303] On stenography in general, see Christian Johnen, *Geschichte der Stenographie im Zusammenhang mit der allgemeinen Entwicklung der Schrift und der Schriftkürzung* (Berlin: F. Schrey, 1911); on stenography and the sermons of St. John Chrysostom in particular, see Blake Goodall, *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 62-74: Goodall argues that the bulk of the homiletic publication of St. John Chrysostom has been taken down stenographically. On stenography in middle-Byzantine homilies, see Antonopoulou, *Homilies of Leo*; also the remarks in Cunningham, "Preaching and the Community," 44-45.

[304] See Cunningham, "Preaching and the Community," 34; Theodora Antonopoulou, "Homiletic Activity in Constantinople Around 900" in Cunnungham, *Preacher and Audience,* 328-29; Pauline Allen, "The Sixth-Century Homily: A Reassessment," *Preacher and Audience*, 217-221. On rehearsed acclamations, see Theodora Antonopoulou, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 100-101.

[305] Barkhizen, "Proclus of Constantinople," 187; see also Cunningham, "Preaching and the Community," 46: literacy should not be regarded as a "necessary prerequisite for the comprehension of literary texts." With reference to rhythm, Cicero says that it is in the ear, and that even the most uneducated audience is as good as any in judging the rhythm of an oration (*Orator* 173 and 178).

[306] Barkhuizen, "Proclus of Constantinople," 189.

Goodall has shown, St. Chrysostom's "literary" homilies (i.e., those carefully composed beforehand and edited afterwards) differed from the ones taken down by means of short-hand only in structure and order of thought, not language.[307] Even though the language used in the church was not the common, everyday language of the street and household, the constant employment of biblical vocabulary and imagery, the use of typology and standard rhetorical *topoi,* combined with frequent exposure to the archaicizing language of the church hymns[308] gave the public enough "training" to prepare them for a rhetorically well-constructed sermon. Diverse though it may have been, and often uneducated, the Byzantine public must have been able to understand its preachers to a much greater degree than we often assume.

HOMILETIC ORATORY AND ACCENTUAL POETRY

So far I have been arguing that the smallest building block of prose rhythm is the individual word and that the "disconnected," *kommatic* style of Asiatic oratory appeared more rhythmical and more easily comprehensible to large, uneducated audiences; this style was, to a large degree, adopted by the early Byzantine homilists, who strove to make their messages understood as well as rhetorically appreciated by their listeners. My goal now is to draw a connection between the rhythm of a Byzantine homily and Byzantine accentual poetry.

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[307] Goodall, *Homilies of St. John Chrysostom*, 66-75.

As quantitative values gradually ceased to be perceived aurally in the first few centuries AD, a prosodic line was only distinguishable as poetry by the equal number of its syllables, which, in rhythmical terms, is a rather insufficient criterion: purely syllabic poetry (if not anchored by music) is rhythmically unstable and tends to evolve into syllabotonic (that is, it begins to require stress regulation as well). Although the influence of dynamic stress accent is felt in the classical meters of Antipater of Sidon (second century BC) and Philip of Thessalonika (first century BC),[309] the first known examples of consistent stress regulation date from the first century AD and combine quantitative hexameters with an end-of-line word accented on the penultimate (paroxytone); other examples from the third and fourth centuries show quantitative anapaests with a paroxytone end-of-line word.[310] End-of-line and caesura stress regulation is also a feature of the hexameters of the fifth-century poet Nonnus of Panopolis and his school.[311] Since quantitative values are not recognized as rhythmical any more, a fixed stress serves to alert the listener that the verse has come to a close. During the later Byzantine period, quantitative metrics become a touchstone validating the education of the writer; as Paul Maas has shown, in much

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[308] For audience reaction and possible participation in the performance of Romanos the Melodist's *kontakia*, see Johannes Koder, "Romanos Melodos und sein Publikum," *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften) 134, no. 1 (1997-99): 63-94.
[309] Michael Jeffreys, "Byzantine Metrics: Non-Literary Strata," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31, no. 1 (1981): 313-34.

[310] Albrecht Dihle, "Die Anfänge der griechischen akzentuierenden Verskunst," *Hermes* 82/2 (1954), 182-99: the verses are found in the scholia of Ox. Pap. I. 15 and XV.1795 (first and third centuries respectively) and in Ox. Pap. III.425 (second-third century) and Pap. Amherst I.23 (fourth century).

[311] A. Wifstrand, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos* (Lund: H. Ohlsson, 1933), 1-17; cited in Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 71.

Byzantine poetry accentual patterns were superimposed upon the quantitative prosody.[312]

At the same time, decisive evidence for the appearance of *clausular* accent regulation in rhetorical prose appears in the works of the fourth-century sophists Himerius and Themistius.[313] The frequency of Forms 2 and 4 as well as the so-called "double dactyl" (/ - - / - -) show that *clausular* stress regulation has replaced quantitative cadence in prose rhythm. In the words of the fourteenth-century rhetorician Joseph Rhakendytes, "rhythm is the kind of ring of a discourse; it is produced by composition and cadence […] but also clearly from whether a word is oxytone [i.e., accented on the ultima], paroxytone [i.e., accented on the penultimate] or like that. For if I say, 'Christ is born, glorify [Him], Christ from heaven, welcome [Him],' I make the phrase pleasing; but if I say, 'Christ is born, He is to be glorified; Christ from heaven, He is to be welcomed,' I make the phrase unrhythmical because of the paroxytone word. Use, therefore, this or that accent suitably, with view to what is rhythmical" (*Ῥυθμός ἐστιν ἡ τοιάδε τις ἀπήχησις τοῦ λόγου, γίνεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς τοιᾶσδε συνθήκης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως […] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τόνου γίνεται ἡ ποιά τις ἀπήχησις τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ, δηλονότι ἂν ὀξύτονός ἐστιν ἡ λέξις ἢ παροξύτονος ἢ τοιαύτη τις. ἐὰν γὰρ εἴπω, Χριστὸς γεννᾶται, δοξάσατε, Χριστὸς ἐξ οὐρανῶν, ἀπαντήσατε, εὔηχον τὸν λόγον ποιῶ, εἰ δὲ οὕτως εἴπω, Χριστὸς γεννᾶται, δοξαστέον, Χριστὸς ἐξ οὐρανῶν, ἀπαντητέον, διὰ τῶν παροξυτόνων*

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[312] Paul Maas, "Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 12 (1903): 278-323.

[313] Dewing, "Origin of Accentual Prose Rhythm," 312.

ἀῤῥυθμότερον τὸν λόγον ποιῶ. σὺ οὖν χρῶ τῷδε ἢ ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόνῳ εὐκαίρως πρὸς τὸ εὐρυθμότερον).[314] As Wolfram Hörandner notes, in the first case the proparoxytone word (i.e., accented on the antepenult) ensures that the clauses end on Form 2, which also happens to be a"double dactyl," while in the second case, the paroxytone words make the clauses end on Form Three, seen as irregular and unrhythmical.[315] Yet whichever form is used, *clausular* accent regulation in prose obviously has the same purpose as end-of-line accent regulation in verse – to signal the end of the phrase. The "double dactyl," which is a proparoxytone *clausula*, repeats Form Two in a sort of echo, as Lauxtermann puts it.[316]

Building on an idea first suggested by Hörandner,[317] Lauxtermann argues that the increased tendency in late antique poetry to combine the caesura with a strong sense pause is a pattern very similar to the pairing of clauses in rhetorical prose. The poetic line virtually breaks up into two independent clauses, with stress regulation at the end; thus the effect is not unlike that of the parallelistic and antithetical prose of the Asiatic orators. In both, the sentences are made up of short fragments, and the clauses are no longer subordinated, but coordinated. According to Lauxtermann, this "poetic" fragmentation in prose begins earlier than the appearance of the short colon

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[314] Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vol. 3, 546.

[315] Hörandner, *Prosarhythmus*, 25-26.

[316] Lauxtermann, *The Spring of Rhythm*, 75. Lauxtermann also notes that the earliest forms of accentual poetry employ accentual "dactyls" to a large extent.

[317] Hörandner, "Beobachtungen," 289-90.

structure in poetry; thus, he says, there can hardly be any doubt that the syntactic structure of Byzantine poetry is based on the patterns of rhetorical prose.[318]

These arguments certainly hold weight, since Byzantine accentual poetry shares, in varying degrees, three basic characteristics: stress regulation, colon structure, and isosyllaby.[319] In Byzantine liturgical poetry, which is strophic in organization, the number of syllables and places of accents are fixed in that all stanzas follow the syllabic and accentual scheme of the first (called *heirmos*). At the same time, the lines are comprised of self-contained cola, usually related by means of parallelism or antithesis, as in the following stanza from the so-called Great Canon of Andrew of Crete:

> *Ἐγγίζει, ψυχή, τὸ τέλος, ἐγγίζει καὶ οὐ φροντίζεις, οὐχ ἑτοιμάζῃ.*
> *ὁ καιρὸς συντέμνει, διανάστηθι. ἐγγὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ὁ κριτής ἐστιν.*
> *ὡς ὄναρ, ὡς ἄνθος ὁ χρόνος τοῦ βίου τρέχει. τὶ μάτην ταραττόμεθα;*
>
> *Ἀνάνηψον, ὦ ψυχή μου, τὰς πράξεις σου ἃς εἰργάσω ἀναλογίζου,*
> *καὶ ταύτας ἐπ' ὄψεσι προσάγαγε, καὶ σταγόνας στάλαξον δακρύων σου.*
> *εἰπὲ παρρησίᾳ τὰς πράξεις, τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις Χριστῷ καὶ δικαιώθητι.*
>
> (The end, o soul, approaches, [the end] approaches but you do not concern yourself nor get ready./ The time is cut short, rise thyself. The judge is already close at the door./ As a dream, as a flower passes the time of life. Why are we troubled in vain?/
>
> Sober up, o my soul, consider the works you have done,/ and put them before your eyes, shedding rows of tears./ Tell freely of your deeds and thoughts to Christ and be justified./)

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[318] Lauxtermann, *ibid.,* 61-86, and especially 81-86.

[319] *Ibid.,* 69-86.

The first line of the first stanza is comprised of 21 syllables and 6 (spoken) accents; the same number of syllables is repeated by the first line of the second stanza; the stresses are fixed on syllables 2, 5, 7, 10, 15, and 20. The pattern of the second line of the first stanza is repeated almost exactly in the second line and third line of the second stanza, etc. Each line is made up of two to three independent clauses, linked together either by punctuation or a simple *kai*, and in some sort of parallelistic relation to each other or to the clauses from the preceding or following line.

While in liturgical poetry the stress positions are strictly regulated, other kinds of accentual poetry, like the fifteen-syllable (political) verse, the twelve-syllable verse, or the Byzantine anacreontic, which are stichic in organization, allow more freedom. The rule of isosyllaby is strictly observed,[320] but the places of the stresses are usually regulated towards the end of the line or the hemi-stich. Thus, for example, the political verse has a mandatory stress on sylablle 14 and either on syllable 6 or 8; apart from that, the stresses follow a general iambic pattern, as in the following excerpt from the oldest surviving sample of imperial acclamations in political verse (the caesura is marked with /):

Ἴδε τὸ ἔαρ τὸ γλυκὺ / πάλιν ἐπανατέλλει
χαρὰν ὑγείαν καὶ ζωὴν / καὶ τὴν εὐημερίαν,
ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐκ Θεοῦ / τῷ βασιλεῖ Ρωμαίων

[320] Eustathius of Thessalonika (twelfth century) points to a tendency to increase the number of syllables in the political verse from fifteen to seventeen or more; however, he says, the extra syllables, which usually happen to be vowels in positions neighboring other vowels, are pronounced in swift vowel combinations, so their length is concealed (*Commentarii ad Iliadem* I.19). Cf. Hörandner, "Beobachtungen," 279-90.

καὶ νίκην θεοδώρητον / κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων.[321]

> (Behold, sweet spring sends forth again/ happiness, health, life, and wellness,/ strength from God to the emperor of the Romans/and God-given victory over the enemies.)

Each line is made up of two hemistichs, of eight and seven syllables respectively, which are divided by a strong caesura. There are fixed stresses on syllables 8 and 14 (except in the last line); the rest of the stresses follow a loose iambic pattern.

The correspondence in colon structure, pairing, and end-of-line stress regulation prompts Lauxtermann to conclude that the only difference between accentual poetry and rhetorical prose is that in poetry the number of syllables is fixed, while in prose it is basically unlimited; that is to say, Byzantine prose and poetry "danced to the same tune."[322] While in principle I find his analysis very compelling, I would suggest a couple of amendments. First, as I argue in Chapter One and as the tables in Appendix show, the number of syllables per clause was not an insignificant factor in prose rhythm. Second, accent regulation in prose does not quite have the same effect as in verse – in verse, the underlying pattern takes precedence over the individual words and clauses and dominates the rhythm, while in prose it is the opposite.

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[321] Constantine Porphyrogennetus, *De ceremoniis* (Bonn ed., 367.19-21), edited by P. Maas, "Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 21 (1912): 28-51.

[322] Lauxtermann, *Spring of Rhythm*, 77.

After the loss of quantitative values, the length of any syllable becomes roughly equal to that of any other; word length, therefore, is determined by the number of syllables rather than their quantities. Since rhythm is an "ordering of time units" (*taxis chronôn*), and, as I have been arguing, the word is the basic unit of prose rhythm, word length is of great importance in setting the rhythm of a phrase. While we cannot claim that the Byzantine homilists kept the rule of isosyllaby as a whole, syllable numbers are observed in approximation. In addition, one of the most important differences between rhetorical prose and poetry is the principle of *metabolê* (change, variety) – an observation repeated over and over again by the rhetoricians, beginning with Aristotle. In other words, the rhythms of prose *should not* be so regular as to be readily anticipated by the ear, and should change frequently. For example, the beginning of Proclus' *Homily on the Sunday of Thomas* employs alternating clauses of approximately the same syllable length:

> *Ἥκω τὸ χρέος ἀποδώσων ὑμῖν·* (11 syll/4 acc)
> *χρέος κἀμὲ τὸν ἀποδιδοῦντα πλουτίζον καὶ ὑμᾶς ὠφελοῦν·* (19 syll/6 acc)
> *πάρειμι πάλιν ὑποδείξων τὸν Θωμᾶν·* (12 syll/4 acc)
> *παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιστοῦντα τῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀναστάσει·* (19 syll/4 acc)
> *ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ἁφήν·* (13 syll/4 acc) *(5)*
> *πιστεύοντα τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ Κύριον καὶ Θεὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζοντα* (21 syll/6 acc)
>
> (I have come to pay a debt owed to you,/ a debt that makes me who repay it rich and at the same time is useful to you./ I am here again to point at Thomas/ who at first doubted the resurrection of the Savior,/ but later, after he saw and touched,/ believed in Christ and called him Lord and God./)[323]

[323] For text edition, see Chapter 1. Line numbering refers to this paragraph only.

The first line contains 11 syllables and 4 major words which carry 4 spoken stresses; its pattern is repeated in the third and the fifth line, which have 12 to 13 syllables and 4 stresses each. Similarly, the second, fourth, and sixth line are made up of 19 to 21 syllables, with 6—4—6 major stresses. Lines one, three, and five carry one kind of theme – the repayment of debt, the example of Thomas, and Thomas' seeing and touching, while lines two, four, and six carry another – the riches that this "repayment" will bring, the initial unbelief, and the subsequent confession of the Lordship of Christ. As far as *clausular* patterns, lines one, two, and six show preference for Form Two, lines three and four for Form Three, line 5 for Form Four.

Similar syllabic regulation in relation to sense – although not as obvious as in Proclus' homily – shows the (pseudo-)Chrysostomian homily *On Palm Sunday*:

> *Διπλασιάσατε οὖν τὴν χαράν·* (10 syll/2 acc)
> *ὅτι τοιούτων παίδων γεγόνατε πατέρες·* (14 syll/4 acc)
> *οἵτινες καὶ τὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἀγνοηθέντα·* (15 syll/3 acc)
> *θεοδιδάκτως ἀνευφήμησαν·* (10 syll/2 acc)
> *ἐπιστρέψατε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν·* (18 syll/5 acc) *(5)*
> *καὶ μὴ μύσητε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν·* (17 syll/5 acc)
> *εἰ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐστε·* (6 syll/2 acc)
> *καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούετε·* (10 syll/2 acc)
> *καὶ βλέποντες οὐ βλέπετε·* (8 syll/2 acc)
> *και μάτην διαφέρεστε πρὸς τὰ νήπια·* (13 syll/3 acc) *(10)*
> *αὐτοὶ ὑμῶν κριταὶ ἔσονται κατὰ τὸν τοῦ σωτῆρος λόγον·* (18 syll/6)[324]
>
> (Double, therefore, your joy,/ because you have become fathers of such children,/ who, taught by God, shouted things unknown even to the elders./ Turn your hearts towards your children,/ and do not close your eyes to the truth./ If, however, you are those/ who do not hear while listening,/ nor see while looking,/ and are in vain at odds with the nurslings,/ they will become your judges according to the word of the Savior.)

[324] For text edition, see Chapter 1. Line numbering refers to this paragraph only.

The first four lines, which comprise a complete thought/sentence, employ a rhythmically chiastic construction, where two lines of 10 syllables and 4 accents each enclose two lines of 14 to 15 syllables and 2 to 3 accents each. As in the previous example, the lines that have approximately equal number of syllables carry the same topic: the first line calls on the elders to double their joy, the fourth gives the final explanation of why they should rejoice. The second and third line refer to the children who proclaim that Jesus is the Messiah. Lines five and six are an admonition to the elders not to close their eyes and hearts to the truth; they contain, respectively, 18 and 17 syllables and 5 accents each. The next five lines amplify the admonition with a quote from Isaiah 6:9-10, which also appears in Matthew 13:14-15 (that they look but do not see and listen but do not hear) and turn it into a warning, with reference to Matthew 12:27 (that their sons will be their judges) – all seamlessly woven into the texture of the homily. The rhythmical principle is that of gradual accumulation. The admonitory line seven ("if, however, you are those") is the shortest, with 6 syllables and 2 accents, followed by two parallel clauses of 10 and 8 syllables and 2 accents, one clause of 13 syllables and 3 accents, and the final warning, which is 18 syllables and 6 accents. Thus the rhythm of these passages is determined both by syllable length and accent (inasmuch as they refer to word units); however, it is not characterized by exact repetition but by variety tied to meaning.

The number of accents in a clause and the accent regulation at the end of the clause do not have the same effect as in poetry. The fixed stresses at the end of the

poetic line reinforce the underlying rhythm and adjust the expectations of the ear in anticipation for the same pattern. The fixed stresses at the end of a rhetorical clause provide a kind of rhythmical echo, a "ring" (*apêchêsis*), which signals the end of the thought. Despite the high incidence of the "double dactyl" and, more generally, of Forms Two and Four in rhetorical prose, the listener does not expect to hear its pattern throughout the clause, because the *clausular* cursus does not set the rhythm, it is merely one part of it. Besides, the "staggered" occurrence of the rhythmically regular forms in relation to word boundaries (whether, for example, Form Two is comprised of two oxytone words, one oxytone and one paroxytone, etc.) diffuses the perception of the frequency of those forms.

There is yet another aspect to the relation between the number of syllables and the accents in a clause, and it is the placement of the accent on the individual word in relation to its neighbors. The idea has been suggested by Athanasios Angelou, who, while working on the edition of Manuel Palaeologus' *Dialogue with the Empress Mother on Marriage*, noticed many instances of unusual application of the acute accent in the manuscripts. The acute replaced the grave in particles like *δέ, οὐδέ,* and *γάρ* and the relative pronouns *ὅς, ἥ, ὅ*. Angelou reasons that the acute accents must have been retained for rhythmical purposes. He then identifies seven forms of word accent placement, or rather, unit accent placement (the identified units include one accent only but more than one word, if one counts clitics, prepositions, and articles), characterised by the number of syllables preceding and following the spoken accent (Angelou refers to them as "slack" syllables or "riders"). Whereas the number

of syllables following an accent cannot be more than two (since in Greek the accent recedes only as far as the antepenult), the syllables preceding an accent can be as many as six. Angelou then proceeds to analyze several excerpts from the dialogue and show how the place of the accent in relation to word boundaries impacts the rhythm of a sentence. He argues that the shorter the word and the closer to its beginning the accent, the more emphasis it carries rhythmically; words with approximately the same number of "slack" syllables on both sides of an accent tend to create a stable, gentle rhythm, and words (or units) with more than two "slack" syllables before the accent make the rhythm rather weighty. These general tendencies, of course, can form an infinite number of combinations.[325]

According to Angelou's principles then, the rhythm of a passage like Proclus' above is very suggestive of its meaning. *Ἥκω τὸ χρέος*, *χρέος κἀμὲ*, and *πάρειμι πάλιν* are all made up of short words stressed on the first syllable; they refer to the speaker and the message he is about to deliver and are emphatically placed at the beginnings of the cola. *Ἥκω τὸ χρέος* in the first clause is followed by a somewhat symmetrically stressed *ἀποδώσων*, which brings balance, and which is, in turn, followed by *ὑμῖν*, where the accent shifts toward the last syllable and closes the utterance. The "debt" the homilist has come to "repay" has already been, rhythmically speaking, transferred from him to his listeners. The second clause repeats the same pattern:

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[325] Athanasios Angelou, *Manuel Palaeologus: Dialogue with the Empress Mother on Marriage* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991), 31-38.

χρέος κἀμὲ is an emphatic reference to the debt the speaker "owes," *τὸν ἀποδιδοῦντα πλουτίζον* brings a balalancing effect with its somewhat symmetrically placed accents, and *ὑμᾶς ὠφελοῦν* closes the utterance by pulling the accents towards the end, thus mirroring the beginning, while figuratively "moving" the repayment into the hands, or rather ears, of the audience. The pattern is repeated again in the third clause (*πάρειμι πάλιν ὑποδείξων τὸν Θωμᾶν*), where it finally becomes clear that the subject of the metaphoric debt discussed is Thomas. The fourth clause (*παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιστοῦντα τῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀναστάσει*) begins on a hesitating cadence (5 unstressed, then 2 unstressed syllables) reflecting Thomas' hesitation itself, then settles to a steady symmetrical rhythm (4 unstressed, then 3 unstressed) at the mention of the resurrection, to reflect the certainty of its reality. The next clause (*ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ἁφήν*) begins on an emphatic first-syllable stress to underline the contrast between Thomas' initial disbelief and his subsequent faith, then moves through the end in a staccato-like rhythm composed of short words and an almost completely regular iambic sequence, which stresses the very physicality, as it were, of Thomas' seeing and touching. Finally the rhythm settles to a steady *πιστεύοντα τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ Κύριον καὶ Θεὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζοντα*, reaffirming Thomas' faith in Christ (and here I will suggest that *αὐτὸν* was probably pronounced without a stress or with a very weak stress).

The excerpt from the (pseudo-)Chrysostomian homily *On Palm Sunday* lends itself to a similar kind of analysis. The first and second clause, "Double, therefore, your joy,/ because you have become fathers of such children" (*Διπλασιάσατε οὖν τὴν*

χαράν· ὅτι τοιούτων παίδων γεγόνατε πατέρες), amplify the imperative to double the joy by doubling the number of stresses from two to four and settling into a steady rhythm of words stressed more or less in the middle. The third clause begins on an emphatic short word stressed on the first syllable (*οἵτινες*) and proceeds to pull the rhythmical weight towards the end with two long words stressed on the penultimate (*καὶ τὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἀγνοηθέντα*), as if to impress upon the ears the weightiness of the elders. The infants are then, rhythmically compared to the elders by the two long, symmetrically stressed words in the fourth clause (*θεοδιδάκτως ἀνευφήμησαν*). The rhythm supports and, to a certain extent, comments on the meaning of the text.

Angelou's model illuminates another aspect of Joseph Rhakendytes' comment on the opening lines of Gregory of Nazianzus' *Homily on the Nativity*: that *Χριστὸς γεννᾶται, δοξάσατε, Χριστὸς ἐξ οὐρανῶν, ἀπαντήσατε* sounds better and is more rhythmically pleasing than *Χριστὸς γεννᾶται, δοξαστέον, Χριστὸς ἐξ οὐρανῶν, ἀπαντητέον*. Hörandner is certainly right to point out that the first expression ensures two rhythmically regular *clausular* endings (i.e., Form Two), while the second provides irregular endings. In addition to that, *δοξάσατε* and *ἀπαντήσατε* in the first expression supply balance and symmetry to the emphatic beginnings, while *δοξαστέον* and *ἀπαντητέον* pull the accents too much towards the end and destroy the stability of the clauses.

In my rhythmical analyses of the Greek texts I have followed the modern editions, thus perhaps missing some of the rhythmical "notation" which may have been contained in the manuscripts. Angelou's observations on the unorthodox use of

the acute accent show how much of the performative aspect of Byzantine works we lose in editing manuscript texts to conform to an orthographically "correct" norm and insisting on the authority of one corrected version.

To conclude, Greek prose rhythm in general, and Byzantine prose rhythm in particular, is not simply a certain fixed cadence at the end of a clause. Prose rhythm is produced by clause length, word composition, and cadence; its smallest unit is not a particular "foot" as in poetry, but the individual word, its accent, and its relation to other words in the utterance. This principle is possibly relevant to classical Greek oratory as well – as the rhetorical commentaries seem to point out – although the accent in classical Greek is not stress but pitch. Further, a parallel exists between the function of the clause in Byzantine prose and the function of the line in Byzantine liturgical poetry: they are both built on the prinicples of stress regulation, syllable regulation, and colon structure. Byzantine homiletic rhythm draws mostly on the tradition of the Hellenistic "Asiatic" style in oratory, which is most likely a strong influence in the appearance of accentual poetry. The Byzantine congregations, in other words, experienced the homily delivered by their preachers and the accentual hymns they heard performed by the choir in a somewhat similar manner. The rhythm explicated and commented on the meaning of the homily, and provided unity to the religious experience.

In the next chapter I will turn to the question of how Byzantine education provided training for this kind of composition. I will show how the Byzantine teachers looked for regular *accentual* patterns in classical Greek texts and pointed

them out to their students, who memorized and reproduced them in their own compositions – thus arguing for continuity in rhythmical patterns between classical and Byzantine texts.

Chapter 3. Prose Rhythm in the Classroom

In Chapter Two I give an outline of the Byzantine tradition of commenting on ancient rhetorical theory about prose rhythm and articulate its general principles, which I show at work by means of specific examples. In this chapter I turn to the difficult question of how prose rhythm was taught in the Byzantine classroom, and explore what that meant for rhetorical production. I argue that since Byzantine education was based on reading, memorizing, and imitating the classical texts, the Byzantine teachers used examples from *classical* Greek literature to teach accentual prose rhythm; they looked for patterns of regular stress alternation or stress "responsion" (that is, identical patterns) in the texts and pointed them out to their students. By implication, then, similar patterns are found in Byzantine rhetorical production, emphatically setting off words and phrases and creating rhythmic paradigms.

Despite the existence of an extensive bibliography on Byzantine education, we do not have many practical details pertaining to the curriculum. The institutional history of the Byzantine schools has been well-studied, from the fourth century to the Palaeologan period;[326] not much, however, is known about what actually happened

[326] The most notable studies on the Byzantine schools are the following: Robert Browning, "The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century," in *Studies on Byzantine History, Literature, and Education* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977); C. N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries, 1204-ca.1310* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Cyprus Research Center, 1982); Friedrich Fuchs, *Die Höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Leipzig:

in the Byzantine classroom. The best source for that is, perhaps, Raffaella Cribiore's recent research on elementary and secondary education in Hellenistic Egypt,[327] based on papyral evidence. Summarized briefly, our knowledge of the late antique and Byzantine system of education amounts to the following: primary schooling was often undertaken at home, under the guidance of a slave or a tutor, or within the educational circle of a *grammatistês* (elementary school-teacher), which could include children of different ages, the younger of whom were sometimes taught the letters by the more advanced students. They learned to recognize and trace the letters first, then to read and spell syllables, after which whole words and sentences were introduced, which the children learned how to read first, then how to write. The

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Teubner, 1926); J. M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867-1185* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937); Nikolaos Kalogeras, *Byzantine Childhood Education and Its Social Role from the Sixth Century to the End of Iconoclasm* (Ph. D. dissertation: The University of Chicago, 2000); H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, tr. George Lamb (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956); Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Paul Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism: The First Phase*, trans. Helen Lindsay and Ann Moffatt (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986); Athanasios Markopoulos, *Anonymi professoris epistolae* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000); as well as all the essays in Yun Lee Too, ed., *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); other useful studies are: Polymnia Athanassiadi, "From Polis to Theoupolis: School Syllabuses and Teaching Methods in Late Antiquity" in *Thymiama: stê mnêmê tês Laskarina Boura* (Athens: Benakê Museum, 1994); W. Martin Bloomer, "Schooling in Persona," *Classical Antiquity* 16/1 (1977): 57-78; Robert Browning, "The Byzantines and Homer" in R. Lamberton and J. J. Keaney, eds., *Homer's Ancient Readers* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); Glanville Downey, "The Christian Schools of Palestine: A Chapter in Literary History," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 12 (1958): 297-319; Alexandros Kakavoulis, *An Introduction to Byzantine Education* (Athens: 1986); M. Ann Moffat, *School-Teachers in the Early Byzantine Empire, AD 330-610* (Dissertation: University of London, 1972) and "Schooling in the Iconoclast Centuries" in A. Bryer and J. Herrin, eds., *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium on Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975* (Birmingham: Center for Byzantine Studies, 1977); and Fritz Schemmel, *Die Hochschule von Konstantinopel vom V. bis IX. Jahrhudert* (Berlin: Königliches-Wilhelm Gymnasium, 1912).

[327] Raffaella Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) and *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

process was slow, repetitive, and unhurried, since the goal was to learn how to read and perform texts from classical poetry, drama, and oratory written in *scriptio continua* during the late antique and early Byzantine period and in minuscule after 800 AD.[328] The duration and manner of elementary education varied, but for the most part by age ten or twelve children were able to read aloud whole passages from classical texts and had, in certain cases, memorized some of them. After that, if the parents were able to pay for a secondary education, the child moved on to study with the *grammatikos*, the grammar teacher. The study of grammar did not belong to the sphere of elementary education:[329] it consisted of the reading and explication of texts for their linguistic, historical, and mythological meaning, and in its advanced stages, by identification of figures of speech and thought and critique of the style of the authors.[330] The critical essays of Dionyssius of Halicarnassus, for example, give us a good idea of how advanced grammatical education could be and what good judges

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[328] On the introduction and development of punctuation in the Latin tradition, see M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); Parkes points out that Jerome is said to have introduced a "new kind of writing," i.e., placing each new *kolon* or *komma* on a new line, a practice he says he had encountered in copies of speeches by Demosthenes, presumably teaching copies from Palestine (p. 15); for more on teaching materials, student-produced texts, and implements, see Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students;* for the Greek tradition of punctuation in general, see Kirsopp Lake, *Dated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1200* (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1934-37).

[329] Grammar appears in the curriculum around the first century BC (Morgan, *Literate Education*, 152-53 and Marrou, *History of Education*, 197ff) as a tool for understanding literature.

[330] For more on grammatical education, including the use of *kanones* (declension tables), vocabulary lists, etymologies that aimed to get to the most "truthful" meaning of a word, and, for the later period, *epimerismoi* (parsing exercises) and *schedographiae* (meticulous word-by-word analyses of short excerpts), see Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 185-219; Morgan, *Literate Education*, 120ff; and Browning, "Il codice Marciano gr. XI.31 e la schedographia bizantina" in *Studies in Byzantine History, Literature, and Education* (XVI, 21-34). On orthography, see Jean Schneider, *Les traits grecs antiques et byzantins* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

of literary merit it could produce[331] – today we would call that literary criticism. Alongside grammar, those students who had committed themselves to a full course of education would also study the other two parts of the *trivium* (*trittys*), rhetoric and dialectic, before they moved on, at about age sixteen to eighteen, to the study of the *quadrivium* (*tetraktys*), i.e., arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy.[332]

The authors most widely taught in elementary, grammatical, and even rhetorical education were the poets and most importantly, Homer, who was considered the poet *par excellence* and inventor of rhetoric – in Byzantium, he was referred to as *the poet* (just as Aristotle was referred to as *the philosopher* and Aristophanes was *the comedian*). The *Iliad* was preferred over the *Odyssey* at a ratio of about three to one, with the first twelve books covered almost unvaryingly, and especially Book Two (The Catalogue of Ships) and Book Six (which describes the battle between Achaeans and Trojans and Hector's parting with Andromache).[333] Homer was revisited at all stages of the educational process, as were the other poets, from the first attempts at reading to the advanced stages of grammar (as witnessed by Eustathius of Thessalonika's (twelfth century) sophisticated commentaries on the

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[331] As Dionysius himself implies in his introduction to *De compositione verborum* (section 2), style criticism belongs to the sphere of the grammarian. There is a long tradition of associating Dionysius' works with grammar, attested in the commentaries on Dionysius Thrax; see, for example, Melampus (G. Uhlig, *Grammatici Graeci* vol. 1, bk. 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1883; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), vol. 1, bk. 3, 15).

[332] On the meaning of the term *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία* or *ἐγκύκλιος παίδευσις*, or "all-rounded education," and its flexibility, see Kalogeras, *Byzantine Childhood Education*, 138-40.

[333] Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 194.

Iliad and the *Odyssey*). Revisiting texts at different stages in education was a typical feature of not only Byzantine, but also Western medieval education.[334] The authors were first mined first for short, moralistic, and gnomic sayings, typically one sentence long, which could be assigned for copying and memorization, and later proved very useful in the composition of letters and orations. More complex textual analysis was gradually introduced, ranging from basic summary and explication of the text to advanced analysis of rhetorical strategy.[335] Homer's *Iliad* proved ideal for the purpose, with its abundant material for etymology, history, mythology, oratory, as well as observations on psychology and everyday life. In addition, Homer was considered the best reading in the inculcation of moral virtue.[336] Other popular authors, including prose writers, were Hesiod; Euripides (preferred over Aeschylus and Sophocles for his accessible language), and especially the *Phoenissae*, *Orestes*, *Medea*, and *Hecuba* (in other words, plays that could be studied for both gnomic sayings and rhetorical, agonistic strategy);[337] Aristophanes' *Clouds*, *Frogs*, and *Wealth*

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[334] A notable forthcoming book on how a medieval rhetorical treatise can be revisited several times at different levels of education is Marjorie Curry Woods' *Classroom Commentaries: Teaching the* Poetria Nova *across Medieval and Renaissance Europe*.

[335] See Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 202ff, also Plutarch's essay "How the Young Man Should Study Poetry" in *Moralia*: education proceeded from short, sententious quotations to longer excerpts.

[336] For more on the primacy of moral education (*τῶν παίδων ἀγωγή*) in the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods, see Marrou, *History of Education*, 221ff, Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind,* Chapters 7 and 8, and Morgan, *Literate Education,* 120ff, also Quintilian, *Institutio oratoriae*, 1.8-9.

[337] On the preference for these plays, and especially of the *Phoenissae* above others, see Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 199 and her essay "The Grammarian's Choice: The Popularity of Euripides' *Phoenissae* in Hellenistic and Roman Education" in Too, ed., *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, 241-260: the play provided abundant gnomic material, a rich treatment of the Oedipus legend with references to a number of other myths and an opportunity to compare with the treatments of other

(for their pure Attic vocabulary and didactic messages); Plato; Demosthenes; Isocrates (*Evagoras*, *Letter to Demonicus*, and *Letter to Nicocles* for their gnomic character); Thucydides; and Gregory of Nazianzus' poems (*De vita sua*) and orations (Oration 36, *In Theophania*, and Oration 24, *In laudem Cypriani*, as well as his funeral orations on Basil of Caesarea and on his brother Caesarius) for the more advanced students. This is, of course, only a very short list of all the texts used in the Byzantine classroom; syllabi varied according to the function and circumstances of education.

Hellenistic and Byzantine rhetorical education usually happened within the circle of the *sophistês* (professional teacher of rhetoric), who was often also a public speaker (*rhêtôr*). The study of poetry continued, as witnessed by Quintilian (*Institutio oratoriae,* 10.1), Libanius (*Oration* 34), and, in general, by the various references to rhetorical strategy found in the *scholia* on the poets; to that was added memorization and close imitation of the ten orators from the Attic canon. While paraphrase, both simple, i.e., close to the text, and sophisticated, i.e., nuanced and following different temporal order of events, was the domain of the grammarians,[338] original composition was the sphere of the rhetoricians.[339] Students began composing short

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tragedians, and a "panorama of the royal house of Thebes, with all the characters from the original myth as well as new creations."

[338] On the exercise of paraphrase, see Morgan, *Literate Education*, 203-220 and *passim*, also Quintilian, *Institutio oratoriae* 2.4.

[339] In practice, of course, the educational subjects were not so neatly divided: occasionally grammarians would take upon themselves to teach *progymnasmata* exercises or rhetoricians would have to require paraphrase or other kinds of simple exercises from their students; see Quintilian, *Institutio oratoriae* 2.1-2, also Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind*, 221ff.

texts based on the so-called *progymnasmata*, or preliminary rhetorical exercises,[340] i.e., short composition tasks in different genres, like description, narrative, fable, refutation and confirmation, encomium, thesis, proposal of a law, etc.; student compositions were based on models taken either from a rhetorical handbook or provided by the teacher himself. The *progymnasmata* exercises were then followed by the composition and performance of declamations (*meletai*), relatively short pieces of oratory that built on the experience gained by the students with the *progymnasmata* and at first imitated given models, either by the canonical orators or provided by the teacher. The subject matter of declamations in the Hellenistic and late antique period was either the classical Greek past or an imaginary situation (seemingly improbable in character, but possibly based on real precedent) involving legal deliberation.[341] Their composition was governed by the use of stasis theory, a theory of commonplace issues that addressed the challenges of judicial and deliberative oratory and was used as a tool for invention and composition.[342] Although much of

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[340] On *progymnasmata*, see George Kennedy's introduction to his translation *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) and *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* , 201-208.

[341] The best source on declamation is still Donald A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (Cambrdige: Cambridge University Press, 1983); see also Maud Gleason's study *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); in addition to that, see Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind,* 223ff, and Kennedy, *New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 166-86.

[342] On stasis theory, see Malcolm Heath's introduction to his translation *Hermogenes: On Issues* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

rhetorical education consisted of close study and imitation of existing models, the practice of composition offered great opportunities for talent and originality.[343]

The existing body of texts from which we draw conclusions about teaching practices consists chiefly of grammatical and rhetorical manuals and commentaries, *scholia*, notes, and glosses on the classical authors – as well as *epimerismoi* (exercises in parsing, first attested in late antiquity), *erôtemata* (collections of questions and answers), *schedographiae* (word-by-word grammatical analyses of texts, which appeared ca. 1000), and grammatical *kanones* (declension and conjugation tables) from the middle Byzantine period.

The rhetorical and grammatical manuals and the accompanying commentaries expounded relevant theory for the purposes of in-depth, overall understanding (*epistêmê*), memorization, and reflection. The *scholia* and notes on texts were teacher-produced commentaries elucidating certain features of the text. Texts were usually heavily annotated in the beginning and less so towards the end, presupposing a learning progress that made further notes less and less necessary. It is from these texts that I draw my main evidence for the teaching of prose rhythm.

Occasionally, other kinds of texts also prove useful, like critical essays on individual authors, which are invariably written by a teacher for the benefit of a

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[343] Perhaps the best description of the day-to-day classroom activities of the rhetoric teacher in late antiquity can be found in Libanius, *Oration 34*: the texts were studied and analyzed first, then came composition exercises, and finally, declamation. It exists in English translation by A. F. Norman, *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000).

friend or a favorite student; the best-known examples are Dionysius of Halicarnassus' collection on the ancient orators and Psellos' essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia, Achilles Tatius, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom. What I would like to emphasize is that rhetorical theory and "literary criticism" in Byzantium (and in the late antique period) functioned as a teaching tool, that is, it was not simply composed for its own sake. Whatever examples and observations on rhythm it contains, therefore, were probably internalized by the students and later reproduced in their own compositions.

At what point in the curriculum, then, was the study of prose rhythm introduced? As the Byzantine teachers followed closely the educational tradition established in late antiquity, it is reasonable to start there. Quintilian, who is our most complete extant source on late antique education in the Roman Empire, discusses prose rhythm in the beginning of his chapter on sentence composition, just after his discussion of figures of thought and speech (*Institutio oratoriae* IX.4). The main burden of teaching attention to rhythm, therefore, fell to the rhetorician, and only after the student had mastered analytical skills. According to Quintilian, rhythm comes third in importance after word order and linkage between *kola* and *kommata.* It is discussed quite thoroughly, beginning with the difference between it and meter and proceeding to practical examples, and followed by a discussion of the various types of sentence composition and their uses. The evidence from Quintilian is congruent with the evidence yielded by the Byzantine commentaries: rhythm is discussed in the context of word arrangement and sentence composition.

The late antique and, especially, the Byzantine student's first encounter with matters of rhythm, however, happened even before he was entrusted to the rhetorician: it was during the time he learned how to read and interpret correctly long excerpts of text. Dionysius Thrax counts reading as one of the six parts of grammar:

> *Γραμματική ἐστιν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων. Μέρη δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστιν ἕξ· πρῶτον ἀνάγνωσις ἐντριβὴς κατὰ προσῳδίαν, δεύτερον ἐξήγησις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους, τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις, τέταρτον ἐτυμολογίας εὕρεσις, πέμπτον ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός, ἕκτον κρίσις ποιημάτων, ὃ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ.*[344]
>
> (Grammar is empirical knowledge of the general usage of poets and prose writers. It has six divisions: first, expert reading with due regard to prosodic features; second, explanation of the literary expressions found in the text; third, the provision of notes on particular words and on the subject matter; fourth, the discovery of etymologies; fifth, the working out of grammatical regularities; sixth, the critical appreciation of literature, which is the finest part of all that the science embraces.)[345]

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[344] Uhlig, *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 1, bk.1, 5-6.

[345] Tr. R. H. Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians: Their Place in History* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1993), 44. This excerpt belongs to the undisputed part of the manual attributed to Dionysius Thrax (first century BC). Dionysius' definition of grammar as *ἐμπειρία*, or practical knowledge, provoked quite a controversy in late antiquity, since the grammarians feared that he had "downgraded the science" (*ἐξεφαύλισε τὴν τέχνην*). Grammar and linguistics were seen by the Stoics and other philosophical circles as part of philosophy and dialectic and therefore, as principled (*λόγον ἔχουσα*), as opposed to *ἐμπειρία*, which was unprincipled (*ἄλογος*), i.e., a skill which required no understanding, going back to the definition of Plato in *Gorgias* 465a (Robins, 44-46). As Cribiore correctly points out, however, Thrax uses both the word *ἐμπειρία* and *τέχνη* in the same paragraph in connection with the definition of grammar: the apparent contradiction is resolved if one takes *ἐμπειρία* to refer to the methodological approach of requiring students to apply actively the teachings they have received (rather than be passive recipients of knowledge), and *τέχνη* to refer to the underlying principles of the art of grammar (*Gymnastics of the Mind,* 186). Yet compare the Byzantine commentators on Thrax: *Grammatici graeci* vol.1, bk. 3, 165-67 (Scholia Vaticana) and 297 (Scholia Marciana), among others in the same volume: they invariably complain about Dionysius' use of *ἐμπειρία.* On the social milieu of grammarians and their role in establishing a linguistic norm, see Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988).

One cannot fail to notice that Dionysius defines the parts of the grammatical art not according any sort of abstract principles (as the parts of grammar are defined today), but according to the pedagogical progression and coverage of the material. Reading comes first not only in the curriculum, but also in the daily order of text analysis, and it involves due attention to prosody. In his discussion of reading, Quintilian describes a similar order of teaching: the *grammaticus*, he says, must first explain the parts of speech and the qualities of the metrical feet, "which need to become so familiar in poetry that the need for them is felt also in rhetorical composition."[346] The teaching of reading was, of course, based primarily on the poets; Dionysius Thrax again gives the following definition of reading:

> *Ἀνάγνωσίς ἐστι ποιημάτων ἢ συγγραμμάτων ἀδιάπτωτος προφορά. Ἀναγνωστέον δὲ καθ' ὑπόκρισιν, κατὰ προσῳδίαν, κατὰ διαστολήν. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τὴν ἀρετήν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς προσῳδίας τὴν τέχνην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς διαστολῆς τὸν περιεχόμενον νοῦν ὁρῶμεν· ἵνα τὴν μὲν τραγῳδίαν ἡρωϊκῶς ἀναγνῶμεν, τὴν δὲ κωμῳδίαν βιωτικῶς, τὰ δὲ ἐλεγεῖα λιγυρῶς, τὸ δὲ ἔπος εὐτόνως, τὴν δὲ λυρικὴν ποίησιν ἐμμελῶς, τοὺς δὲ οἴκτους ὑφειμένως καὶ γοερῶς. τὰ γὰρ μὴ παρὰ τὴν τούτων γινόμενα παρατήρησιν καὶ τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν ἀρετὰς καταρριπτεῖ καὶ τὰς ἕξεις τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων καταγελάστους παρίστησιν.*[347]
>
> (Reading is the enunciation of verse or prose without any faults. One should read with due regard to dramatic presentation, prosodic features, and punctuation; from these we see, respectively, the merits [of the poet], the skill [of the reader], and the sense [of the text]. So one should read tragedy in a heroic style, comedy in a lively style, elegy in a clear and sweet voice, epic poetry earnestly, and lamentations gently and mournfully. If these rules are not followed, the quality of the works read will be destroyed, and the conduct of the readers will appear ridiculous.[348])

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[346] *Institutio oratorae* I.8, tr. Donald Russell (Loeb Classical Library).

[347] Uhlig, *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. I, bk. 1, 6.

[348] Tr. adapted from Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 49; I inserted the brackets to indicate Robins' interpretive additions the text, which are based on the interpretive tradition found in the Byzantine *scholia* (see, for example, *Grammatici graeci* vol. 1, bk. 3 (Scholia Vaticana (cod. C)), 170-74.

Thus a competent student was expected to be able to recognize and enunciate correctly the words, the meter and rhythms, as well as perform the passage according to its sense and character, i.e., tragic, epic, comedic, elegiac, or lyric.

The teaching of reading becomes more and more complicated as we move into the Byzantine period, judging by the volume of explanations attached to this definition. As demotic Greek lost the syllabic quantities and transformed the musical accent into stress, it became necessary to explain to the students the correct way of pronouncing ancient poetry. Thus, the Byzantine commentaries on Dionysius Thrax abound in elaboration on prosody. Reading with regard to prosody is usually defined either more extensively as "according to accent, syllable duration, breathings, and punctuation marks" (*κατὰ τόνους, κατὰ χρόνους, κατὰ πνεύματα, κατὰ πάθη*) or more simply as observing "accent, syllable duration, and breathing" (*τόνος, χρόνος, πνεῦμα*).[349] These definitions are then followed by long sections of explanation of each term. The persistence and volume of attention devoted to prosodic features leaves no doubt that despite the loss of syllabic quantity and musical accent, the Byzantine teachers continued to require their students to read classical poetry according to the ancient pronunciation, inasmuch as that was possible.

How much of that was, however, possible? The Byzantine grammarians diligently explain that accent (*τόνος*) is musical; hence, the etymology of the terms

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[349] For example, *Grammatici graeci* vol. 1, bk. 3, 13 (Melampus or Diomedes), 125 (Choeroboscus), 150 (Anonymous), 292 (Scholia Marciana), among others.

acute (*ὀξύς*), grave (*βαρύς*), and circumflex (*περισπώμενος*) reflects a raising or lowering of the voice.[350] That was the ideal pronunciation. In practical teaching, however, things probably looked somewhat different: students' actual articulation was, perhaps, much closer to our own attempts to recite ancient poetry; in other words, the accent was a combination of stress and pitch. Linguistically, this was a reasonable continuation of the tendency of ancient Greek accent to include a certain amount of stress expiration in addition to pitch.[351] It was certainly easier, however, for Byzantine teachers to explain reading only in terms of correct stress accent, and they did, occasionally revert to that: the Scholia Vaticana on Thrax contain a passage that does not mention pitch in relation to accent:

> *Ἀναγινώσκειν δὲ [δεῖ] κατὰ προσῳδίαν, ἤτοι καθ' ὃν ἔχει τόνον ἡ λέξις, ὡς μὴ ἀναγνῶναι τὸ ὄρος ὀρός καὶ τὸ ἁγνός [ὁ καθαρός] ἄγνος, κἀντεῦθεν εἰς πλάνην ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἀκροατήν, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄρος, τυχὸν ὁ Ὑμηττὸς ἢ τὸ Τηΰγετον ἤ τι ἄλλο, ὀρὸν νοῆσαι, ἤγουν τὸ ὑδατῶδες τοῦ γάλακτος, καὶ πάλιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἁγνός [ὁ καθαρός] τὸ φυτὸν ὑπολαβεῖν λέγεσθαι τὸν ἄγνον· ἄγνος γάρ ἐστι φυτὸν ἄγονον καὶ ἄκαρπον.*[352]
>
> (Reading must be carried out according to prosody, i.e., according to the accent of the word, so as not to read *ὄρος* [mountain] as *ὀρός* [whey] or *ἁγνός [ὁ καθαρός]* [pure] as *ἄγνος* [willow-tree], which [would] thereby mislead the listener to understand "mountain," perhaps Hymettus or Teygetus or something else, instead of "whey" that is to say, "the watery part of milk," and again instead of "pure" ("clean") to understand the willow. For the willow is a tree unborn and without fruit.)

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[350] See, for example, *Grammatici graeci* vol. 1, bk. 1, 6-7 (Dionysius Thrax himself), vol. 1, bk. 3, 22-24 (Melampus), vol. 1, bk. 3, 125 (Choeroboscus), vol. 1, bk. 3, 136 (Porphyry), etc.

[351] See A. M. Devine and Laurence D. Stephens, *The Prosody of Greek Speech* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 91-96.

[352] Hilgard, *Grammatici graeci*, vol. 1, bk. 3, 171 (cod. C).

The examples given in this *scholion* pertain to avoiding ambiguity through the correct placement of accent (since there were no written accents before the introduction of the minuscule script in the ninth century) and make no mention of pitch. The next section of the same *scholion*, which comments on accent, gives the following explanation to Dionysius' definition, "accent is the sound of a harmoniously modulated voice" (*τόνος ἐστὶν ἀπήχησις φωνῆς ἐναρμονίου*)[353]:

> *Λέγει δὲ τὸν τόνον εἶναι ἀπήχησιν τῆς ἐναρμονίου φωνῆς, ἤγουν τῆς ἐνάρθρου, τουτέστι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης· μόνη γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φωνὴ ἔναρθρος· ὅθεν καὶ φώς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς εἶναι αὐτὴν φωτεινοειδῆ τινα, τὴν φωτίζουσαν καὶ σαφηνίζουσαν τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ νοῦ. Ὅθεν καὶ ἐναρμόνιός ἐστι, τουτέσιν ἔναρθρος, ἡ ἀπὸ διανοίας ἐκπεμπομένη καὶ εἰς διάνοιαν ἀνερχομένη, ἣ καὶ διεξοδικὴ καλεῖται.*[354]
>
> (He says that accent is the sounding of a harmonious sound, that is, of an articulate sound, which means human sound. For the human sound alone is articulate. Since man is also mortal (*φώς*), the sound is somehow luminous, that is, illuminating and clarifying the things inside the mind. Hence it is also harmonious, which is to say, articulate, or emanating from [human] reason and returning to reason, which reason is also called discursive.[355])

The meaning of the passage is difficult to render in translation, since the author is playing on the similar sound of "man/mortal" (*φώς*) and "light/luminance" (*φῶς*), from where he says that human sound is "luminous" (*φωτεινοειδῆ*), which is a word that derives from "light" (*φῶς*), but can be taken as related to "man/mortal" (*φώς*) on the basis of homophony. In a typical Byzantine etymological twist then, the word "luminous" (*φωτεινοειδῆ*) is related to "illuminating" (*φωτίζουσαν*) and thereby to

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[353] Tr. Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians,* 50.

[354] *Grammatici graeci* vol. 1, bk. 3, 175.

[355] Cf. Aristotle, *De anima* 406 or 407.

"discursive reasoning" (*διεξοδικὴ διανοία*).[356] Thus the meaning of "harmoniously modulated/melodious" (*ἐναρμόνιος*) is explained as "articulate" (*ἔναρθρος*) – and there is not a word about pitch. The next segment of Thrax's definition, "raised with the acute accent, grave with the level accent, and up and down with the circumflex" (*ἡ κατὰ ἀνάτασιν ἐν τῇ ὀξείᾳ, ἡ κατὰ ὁμαλισμὸν ἐν τῇ βαρείᾳ, ἡ κατὰ περίκλασιν ἐν τῇ περισπωμένῃ*"),[357] is interpreted by the same scholiast in terms of pure stress:

> *Ἀμήχανόν ἐστι φωνὴν δίχα τάσεως ἀποτελεσθῆναι· εἰ γὰρ φωνή ἐστιν ἀὴρ πεπληγμένος, δεῖ δὲ τὴν πλῆξιν μετὰ τάσεως γίνεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν εἴη φωνὴ δίχα τόνου· πᾶσα τοίνυν συλλαβὴ τόνῳ κέχρηται. Τῶν δὲ τόνων οἱ μέν εἰσιν ὀξεῖς, οἱ δὲ βαρεῖς· ὁ γὰρ περισπώμενος σύνθετός ἐστιν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. Ὅσαι τοίνυν τῶν συλλαβῶν τὸν ὀξὺν ἔχουσι τόνον, τρόπον τινὰ ταῖς [ἄλλαις] συλλαβαῖς ἐπισκιάζουσαι τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς βαρύν τε καὶ ὁμαλὸν τόνον οὐκ ἐῶσιν ἐξακούεσθαι.*
>
> (It is impossible to produce sound without force. Because if sound is a striking of the air, then it is necessary to perform the striking with force, and thus there would not be sound without accent. Each syllable, therefore, makes use of an accent. Some of the accents are acute, others are grave, while the circumflex is a synthesis of both. Those syllables which carry the acute, therefore, obscure the rest of the syllables in a way and do not allow the grave and level accent to be heard.)[358]

This is a rather ingenious interpretation of a passage which obviously needs to explain accent in terms of pitch, that is, "raising and lowering of the voice." Whether

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[356] For more on the Byzantine use of homophony and its generation of meaning, see Dirk Krausmüller, "Theotokos – Diadochos: Punning (*Parechesis*) and the Subversion of a Doctrinal Shibboleth in Theodore of Petra's *Life of Theodosius the Coenobiarch*" in Louth, Andrew and A. Cassiday, eds. *Byzantine Orthodoxies: Papers of the Thirty-Sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Durham, March 2002* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2005) and "Strategies of Equivocation and the Construction of Multiple Meanings in Middle Byzantine Texts," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 56 (2006): 1-11.

[357] Tr. Robins, *Byzantine Grammarians*, 50.

[358] One Byzantine commentator explains the grave accent as marking the absence of a major stress at the end of a word: to the question why we not write the grave accent over all syllables, he answers: so as not to scratch up the books (*Grammatici Graeci* vol. 1, bk. 1, 110-11).

the scholiast was ignorant of pitch, whether he rather tried to adapt Thrax's definition to the Byzantine linguistic reality, or whether he simply did not want to get his students involved in the complicated pitch business is not something I am willing to get into. Perhaps it is enough to draw a more general conclusion that, despite the overall desire to study and preserve the correct ancient pronunciation of the melodic accent, some Byzantine teachers chose to discuss stress accent only.

Similar conflation of pitch and stress accent, whether deliberate or not, could also be used as a teaching tool, elucidating certain points about ancient poetry. One late Byzantine teacher, for example, gives his students the following parallel between ancient lyric poetry and Byzantine liturgical poetry:

> *"Τὴν δὲ λυρικὴν ποίησιν ἐμμελῶς:" Λυρικὴ ποίησις οὖν ἐστιν ἡ τὰ ᾄσματικὰ ποιήματα περιέχουσα. Δεῖ δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν ἔμπειρον εἶναι τῆς μουσικῆς, ἵνα μελίζῃ καλῶς τὰ ποιήματα, οἷον ἐάν τις θέλῃ ποιῆσαι κανόνα, πρῶτον δεῖ μελίσαι τὸν εἱρμόν, εἶτα ἐπαγαγεῖν τὰ τροπάρια ἰσοσυλλαβοῦντα καὶ ὁμοτονοῦντα τῷ εἱρμῷ καὶ τὸν σκοπὸν ἀποσῴζοντα.*[359]
>
> ("Lyric poetry [must be read] melodiously:" Lyric poetry encompasses musical poems. It is necessary that the poet be experienced in music, so that he can set the poems to music well. For example, if someone wishes to compose a *kanon* [a type of liturgical hymn], he must first set the *heirmos* [i.e., the first stanza] to music, then supply the *troparia* [i.e., the following stanzas], which must have an equal number of syllables and the same accent placement as the *heirmos* and keep that metrical shape.[360])

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[359] *Grammatici graeci* 1.3, 569. On the various meanings of the word *σκοπός*, one of which is something like the metrical shape or structure of a poem, see Wolfram Hörandner, "Court Poetry: Questions of Motifs, Structure, and Function" in E. Jeffreys, ed., *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-Fifth Spring Symposium on Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2003).

[360] A *kanon* is the most popular form of Byzantine liturgical poetry, which – as the scholiast explains – consists of stanzas modeled on the first (called *heirmos*) in the sense that they repeated the number of syllables and the placement of the accents per line. The classic study on Byzantine liturgical music is still Egon Wellesz, *Bynzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

In other words, Thrax's rule that lyric poetry must be read melodiously or performed according to music is explained in terms of contemporary Byzantine liturgical poetry, which was only sung. It is an explanation the Byzantine students could easily understand, since they were exposed to liturgical music almost daily. As is evident from the excerpt, however, liturgical poetry is based on stress accent. The above passage gives us a tantalizing and very rare bit of information about Byzantine accentual poetry, which – as is well-known – is not commented on by the Byzantine authors, leaving modern scholars to their own devices when it comes to the study of it. The scholiast is drawing a parallel between, in the first place, the fact that both lyric poetry and liturgical poetry were sung, and in the second, perhaps, that ancient Greek melody was as mindful of the placement of the accent as was Byzantine liturgical poetry. Accented syllables were sung on a note either higher or at least not any lower than the neighboring unaccented syllables (more on this later).

My point so far is that attention to rhythm was taught very early on in the process of education, that is, at the reading stage. Students were expected to perform texts according to correct prosody and rhythm, and occasionally – perhaps more often than not, as I will argue below – that amounted to care for correct accent placement. The Byzantine scholia on major classical authors are full of remarks attesting meticulous attention to accent placement. Most often it has to do with alternative meanings; the classic example is pointing out the difference between *πρωτοτόκος*, i.e., *ἡ πρώτως τεκοῦσα* (giving birth for the first time) and *πρωτότοκος*, i.e., *ὁ*

πρῶτος τεχθείς (first-born)[361] or the difference between *μύρια*, i.e, *τὸν δέκα χιλιάδων ἀριθμὸν* (the number ten thousand), and *μυρία*, i.e, *ἀόριστον τὴν ποσότητα* (indefinite in quantity).[362] Another typical example would be to show how a word fits into a certain accentual paradigm: "the accent of *φιβάλεως* falls on the antepenult, like *κορώνεως* or *πελέκεως*" (*ὁ δὲ τόνος φιβάλεως προπαροξυτόνως ὡς κορώνεως, πελέκεως*).[363] Teachers would also point out the difference in accentuation between Attic and common usage, for example, "*καταδαρθεῖν:* Attic speakers would accent [this word] on the penultimate, *καταδάρθειν*" (*καταδαρθεῖν: Ἀττικοὶ παροξυτόνως καταδάρθειν*).[364] Another reason to look at the place of the accent would have been for metrical purposes: "*ἡ ἀνοία:* accented on the penultimate according to Attic use, instead of *ἄνοια*, which he stretched out on account of the meter" (*ἡ ἀνοία: παροξυτόνως Ἀττικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄνοια διὰ δὲ τὸ μέτρον ἐξέτεινεν*).[365]

Meticulous attention to accent thus translated also into attention to the *rhythm* created by accent. While rigorous training in syllabic quantity and pitch may have

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[361] See, for example, Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad* vol. 1, 665.

[362] Michael Syncellus, *Peri tês tou logou syntaxeôs* 161 (D. Donnet, *Le traité de la construction de la phrase de Michel le Syncelle de Jérusalem* (Brussels: Institut historique Belge de Rome, 1982), 353).

[363] Nigel G. Wilson, *Prolegomena de comoedia. Scholia in Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes* (*Scholia in Aristophanem*) vol. 1, bk. 1B (Groningen: Bouma, 1975), "In Acharnenses," verse 802a.

[364] D. Holwerda, *Prolegomena de comoedia: scholia in Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes*, vol. 1, bk. 3, pt. 1 (Groningen: Bouma, 1977), "In Nubes," verse 38a.

[365] O. L. Smith, *Scholia graeca in Aeschylum quae exstant omnia* vol. 2, bk. 2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1982), "In Septem adversus Thebas," verse 402c. The passage refers to the notion that a stressed syllable is slightly longer than an unstressed syllable; see Choeroboscus' commentary on Hephaestion (Consbruch, *Hephaestioni enchiridion*, 183) and Devine and Stephens, *Prosody of Greek Speech*, 91-96.

sensitized the students to ancient quantitative rhythms, they certainly responded much better to stress rhythms – which were carefully pointed out by the teachers, as I will argue below.

The theoretical discussion, that is, the last and most advanced step, in the teaching of prose rhythm came in the intermediate stages of rhetorical education, as was testified by Quintilian as early as late antiquity and by Joannes Siceliotes, the Anonymous Commentator in Walz 7/2, and Maximus Planudes in the Byzantine period. As I already mentioned, Quintilian speaks of prose rhythm immediately after his discussion of rhetorical figures (*Institutio oratoriae* IX.4), which comes after his discussion of the time and appropriate age for teaching *progymnasmatic* exercises (*Institutio oratoriae* VIII-IX), what *progymnasmata* are, and how to teach them. The theoretical discussion of rhythm, in other words, was considered a topic complicated enough to be introduced after preliminary composition exercises and after the student had mastered the figures of speech and thought. This late antique practice was continued into the Byzantine period, as we can see from the numerous references to rhythm in Siceliotes, Planudes, and the Anonymous' commentaries on Hermogenes' *Peri ideôn*.[366] Hermogenes' treatise on style was, in all likelihood, used as a teaching aid during the intermediate stages of rhetorical education, as a theory that the student could memorize and reflect on after he had become familiar with the basic tools of rhetoric. This is also where we encounter the highest level of theoretical

[366] Walz, *Rhetores graeci* vols. 3, 6, and 7, pt. 2.

discussion of prose rhythm – which is the material I have used for my own, rather theoretical, discussion of rhythm in Chapter 2.

Between the initial attention to rhythm during reading and advanced theoretical reflection during the teaching of rhetoric, where can we find the practical teaching of rhythm and what did it consist of? The first of these questions is very difficult to answer. The examples I have encountered so far are found in advanced grammatical commentaries, scholia, and low-level rhetorical treatises; I would hesitate, however, to assign a definite time period for covering this type of material. Late antique and medieval education, as is well-known, did not have a rigid curricular structure and different parts could be taught to different students at different times, depending on circumstances. In addition, the study of grammar probably continued even beyond the school of the *grammatikos*: Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that perfect knowledge [about literary matters] belongs to an age "disciplined by grey hairs,"[367] and Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad*, written for advanced students, is clearly meant to be something of a grammatico-rhetorico-philosophical commentary, as indicated by Eustathius himself in the *proemium*, where he says that the study of Homer is useful for all: grammarians, rhetors, and philosophers.[368]

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[367] *De compositione verborum* 1 (trans. Roberts).

[368] M. van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), vol. 1, 1.

The practical teaching of prose rhythm consisted of finding examples of regular accentual rhythm in classical texts and pointing them out to the students. The teachers first made sure their students knew the distinction between rhythmics and metrics, as already discussed in Chapter 3: metrics pertains to quantitative verse, while rhythmics applies to both verse and prose. In the following excerpt, Eustathius, while commenting on a verse from Homer, explains to his students that metrics and rhythmics should not overlap in poetry:

> *Ἔνθα δυσὶ στίχοις φιλοτιμεῖται τέσσαρα δῶρα ἐμπεριγράψαι, εἰπὼν "ἕπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,/ αἴθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἐείκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους." Τούτων δὲ τῶν στίχων ἑκατέρου ἡ εἰς ἀνὰ δύο ἐννοίας τομὴ οὐ πάνυ μετρικῶς ἔχειν δοκεῖ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, οἵ φασιν, ὅτι τὸ μέτρον χαίρει μὲν συνδεσμεῖσθαι τοὺς πόδας ἀλλήλοις, ὡς κατὰ μηδὲν εἰς μέρος ἀπαρτίζειν λόγου, οἷον "Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσε." Παραιτεῖται δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ κατὰ πόδα τέμνεσθαι, οἷον "ὕβριος εἵνεκα τῆσδε, σὺ δ' ἴσχεο, πείθεο δ' ἡμῖν," ἔνθα καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον πόδα καὶ μέρος λόγου ἀπαρτίζεται, οὕτω καὶ τὴν δίχα τομήν, ἤγουν τὴν εἰς δύο ἐννοίας, ὡς τὸ "ἔνθ' οὔτ' Ἰδομενεὺς τλῆ μίμνειν οὔτ' Ἀγαμέμνων." οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν τριχῇ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον διαίρεσιν. Ῥυθμικὰ γάρ, φασί, ταῦτα ἢ μετρικά. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὰ ῥηθέντα δύο ἔπη ῥυθμικώτερον διάκεινται. καὶ οὕτω μὲν τοῦτο.*[369]
>
> (Here he ambitiously strives to encompass four gifts in two lines, saying, "Seven tripods untouched by the fire, ten talents of gold,/ twenty shining copper caldrons, and twelve horses" (*Iliad* 9.122-23)
> _ ^ ^ _ ^ ^ _ ^^ _ _ _ ^ ^ _ _ _ _ _ _ ^ ^ _ ^ ^ _ ^^
> [*ἕπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,/ αἴθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἐείκοσι,*
> _ ^ ^ _ _
> *δώδεκα δ' ἵππους*]. The division of each one of these lines into two thoughts did not seem altogether metrical to the ancients, who say that the meter is graceful when the feet are conjoined with each other, i.e., when none is contained within a [single] part of speech, as "From the city of Ilius the wind took me and brought me to the Cicones" (*Odyssey* 9.39) [is an example of good meter]:
> _ ^^ _ ^ ^ _ ^^ _ ^ ^ _ ^ ^ _ _
> [*Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσε*]. It is rejected since it is divided according to the feet, as for example, "On account of this hybris – but hold back, and obey us" (*Iliad* 1.214)

[369] Valk, *Commentarii ad Iliadem*, vol. 2, 671-72.

> [ὕβριος εἵνεκα τῆσδε, σὺ δ' ἴσχεο, πείθεο δ' ἡμῖν], where each foot is completed within one part of speech. Same with the division in half, that is, in two thoughts, as in "Neither Idomeneus suffered to stay there, nor Agamemnon" (*Iliad* 8.78)
>
> [ἔνθ' οὔτ' Ἰδομενεὺς τλῆ μίμνειν οὔτ' Ἀγαμέμνων]. Same with the division into three and more parts. For, they say, these things are rhythmical rather than metrical. Therefore, the two mentioned verses are rather too rhythmical. So much for this.[370])

To paraphrase briefly what Eustathius says, the ancients thought that the meter suffered if the divisions between individual metrical feet or groups of two or three feet coincided with word boundaries or with divisions of thought. They rather liked a "syncopated" disjunction between word and foot boundaries. If the prosodic feet coincided with individual words, they considered that rhythmical rather than metrical. One cannot fail to notice, first, that if a prosodic foot coincides with an individual word, then the word becomes the basic carrier of the rhythm, which is the theoretical principle of prose rhythm, as discussed in the previous chapter, and second, that in both quoted examples of "bad" meter (*Iliad* 1.214 and 8.78) we have almost regular accentual dactyls, and especially in the first, which could be pronounced with the following stresses: *ὕβριος εἵνεκα τῆσδε, σὺ δ' ἴσχεο, πείθεο δ' ἡμῖν* (/- - /- - /-, - /- -, /- - - /). Only the last word breaks the pattern. The second example could also be read quite rhythmically according to stress: *ἔνθ' οὔτ' Ἰδομενεὺς τλῆ μίμνειν οὔτ' Ἀγαμέμνων* (/- - - - / / /- - /-- /-). The accentuation, in other words, coincides

[370] Scansion mine; certain short syllables in proper names are scanned as long in order to accommodate the meter.

with the thesis (which, according to Aristides Quintilianus, is the long syllable in a dactyl) in the metrical feet. The ancients, as Eustathius explains, perceived this coincidence as too rhythmical and did not approve of it. By pointing out these regularities, Eustathius achieves a twofold pedagogical purpose: he teaches a point about meter, which applies to ancient verse, and a point about rhythm, which could apply to contemporary verse or prose.

Yet on another occasion Eustathius commends a line for its swift, appropriate and natural rhythm –without mentioning anything about the meter:

> *Ἔνθα ὅρα κάλλος ἐν τρισὶ ῥήμασι καὶ δυσὶ συνδέσμοις καίριον καὶ φυσικὸν καὶ γοργόν, οὐ μὴν περίεργον καὶ ἐπιτετηδευμένον κατὰ τὰ ὕστερον· τοιοῦτον γὰρ πάντως τὸ "θεαί ἐστε πάρεστέ τε ἴστε τε." ὁ μέντοι γράψας πρὸς ἀστεϊσμὸν τὸ "νάρκη πνικτή, πέρκη σχιστή, τευθὶς σακτή," ταὐτὸν δ' εἰπεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ἰδιωτίζοντας παραγεμιστή, "γλαύκου προτομή, γόγγρου κεφαλή," ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ παρισώσας τὸ "τυρὸς ξηρός, τυρὸς κοπτός, τυρὸς ξυστός, τυρὸς τμητός" καὶ ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα—μυρία δέ εἰσιν ἐκεῖνα—καλλωπίζουσι μὲν γοργῶς καὶ εὐρύθμως, οὐ μὴν σεμνῶς καὶ φύσει καθ' Ὅμηρον.*[371]
>
> (Behold here beauty in three words and two conjunctions, appropriate, natural, and swift-flowing, not indeed overwrought and belabored as the things that come afterwards. For such altogether is the phrase "goddesses you are, here you are, and you know" (*Iliad* 2.485). Indeed, the one who wrote wittingly, "a stewed electric ray, a split perch, a filled-up squid,"[372] that is, stuffed [squid], [if we] say the same in the common idiom, and "the first cut of a grey-fish, the head of a conger-eel,"[373] and still even the *parisa* "dried cheese, crumbled cheese, lump cheese, sliced cheese"[374] and as many such as there are – they are innumerable – are beautiful in a swift-flowing and rhythmical way, but not indeed in a way stately and Homeric in nature.)

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[371] Valk, *Commentarii ad Iliadem*, vol. 1, 398.

[372] Athanaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 7.46 (Kaibel) or 7.295 (Loeb Classical Library). Tr. adapted after Charles B. Gulick, Loeb Classical Library.

[373] *Ibid.*, 7.46 (Kaibel).

[374] Athanaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 9.66 (Kaibel).

The excerpt quoted from Athenaeus is commended for its wit and swift-flowing and pleasing rhythm, which is near-impossible to render accurately in English. The rhythm is created by pairs of isosyllabic words, whose accentuation patterns are identical from one pair to the next (save for one exception): the phrase "*νάρκη πνικτή, πέρκη σχιστή, τευθὶς σακτή*" (/- -/, /- -/, -/ -/) has internal accentual responsion; so does the next phrase "*γλαύκου προτομή, γόγγρου κεφαλή*" (/- --/, /- --/), as well as the next: "*τυρὸς ξηρός, τυρὸς κοπτός, τυρὸς ξυστός, τυρὸς τμητός*" (-/ -/, -/ -/, -/ -/, -/ -/). Their rhythm is "natural," according to Eustathius, and so is the rhythm of the Homeric line "*θεαί ἐστε πάρεστέ τε ἴστε τε,*" whose pattern (-/ -- /-/- /--) is also marked by regularity, although not as pronounced as the other three phrases. The key word here is pleasing rhythm, not pleasing meter. Eustathius has singled out for attention something that has a regular accentual pattern, which he reinforces with other, even more regular, examples from classical authors. One must also note that the above examples do not follow the regular Byzantine *cursus*, that is, they all have an uneven number of syllables between the last two accents – and yet are still considered rhythmical.

However, the double accentual dactyl (the best preferred form for the prose *cursus*) does occur in another example – which is rather brief:

> *Ὅτι ἔκλαιεν μὲν ἡ Βρισηΐς, λέγουσα, ὡς ἐρρέθη, τὰ δοκοῦντα, "ἐπὶ δ' ἐστενάχοντο γυναῖκες, Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε' ἑκάστη." Τὸ δὲ "Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν" καὶ εἰς παροιμίαν ὕστερον ἔπεσε, δι' ἣν ἔχει εὔρυθμον συντομίαν καὶ πιθανότητα. καὶ λέγεται ἐπὶ τῶν προσποιουμένων μὲν ποιεῖν τι διὰ τήνδε τινὰ αἰτίαν, τῷ ὄντι δὲ ἄλλως τοῦτο ποιούντων.*[375]

[375] Valk, *Commentarii ad Iliadem*, vol. 4, 334.

> (Because Briseis wept, speaking [under] pretense, as is said, "The women lamented, on the pretense of Patroclus' [death], each their own sorrow" (*Iliad* 19.302). The phrase "on the pretense of Patroclus' [death]" has later become a proverb, on account of its rhythmical brevity and persuasiveness. It is used with reference to those who pretend to do something for some reason, but do it for a reason different than that.)

The phrase "*Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν*" has become a proverb because of its rhythmical brevity and persuasiveness, according to Eusthathius. It forms a double accentual dactyl, and in addition to that, has internal accentual responsion.

On yet another occasion Eustathius does not hesitate to praise Homer for achieving good rhythmics in lines that show regular accentual alternation, internal responsion, and the double dactyl. Commenting on *Iliad* 22.386-87, he says:

> *Ὅρα δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐκαλλώπισε ῥυθμῷ προπαροξυτόνων λέξεων τὰ κατὰ Πάτροκλον, εἰπὼν "κεῖται πὰρ νήεσσι νέκυς ἄκλαυτος ἄθαπτος Πάτροκλος." ἔχει δὲ κάλλος πρὸ τούτων καὶ τὰ ἐν τέλει στίχων δύο πάρισα τὸ "τοῦδε πεσόντος," καὶ "Ἕκτορος οὐκέτ' ἐόντος," ἃ καὶ ἰσοδύναμά εἰσι.*[376]
>
> (Behold also how he embellishes the things he said about Patroclus through the rhythm of proparoxytone words, saying, "By the ships Patroclus lay, dead, unlamented, unburied." The two *parisons* before these at the end of the verses also have beauty: "this man having fallen" and "Hector being no more" (*Iliad* 22.383-84), and they are also equally constructed.)

The three consecutive proparoxytone words "*ἄκλαυτος ἄθαπτος Πάτροκλος*" (/-- /-- /--) conspicuously form a regular accentual dactylic sequence, whose pattern is emphasized by the accentual regularity of the preceding sequence "*κεῖται πὰρ νήεσσι νέκυς*" (/-- /-- /-). In addition to that, the line as quoted ends on a double accentual

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[376] Valk, *Commentarii ad Iliadem*, vol. 4, 635.

dactyl. As the boundaries of the prosodic feet do not coincide with individual words and therefore the meter would have been considered "good," Eustathius would not have had any reason to comment on the rhythmical features of these lines other than to point out their *rhythmical* beauty – as he plainly does. His next comment refers to the ends of the preceding two lines, which, he says, are *parisa* and have beauty as well (i.e., rhythmical beauty) and, in addition, are equally constructed. The two phrases show regular responsion between the (spoken) accents of the last two words: *"τοῦδε πεσόντος"* (-- -/-) and *"Ἕκτορος οὐκέτ' ἐόντος"* (-- -/-).

Parison seems to be one of the rhetorical figures singled out by the Byzantine teachers for its heightened rhythmicity – at any rate, the examples they give to illustrate it show a heightened rhythmicity. The example given by Eustathius would fall under the category of perfect *parison* (*πάρισον καθόλου*), at least according to the definition of Gregory of Corinth (eleventh to twelfth century):

> *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον πάρισον τὸ λεγόμενον οὕτω πάρισον καθόλου, ὡς παρὰ τῷ θεολόγῳ· ἄλλα μὲν λεόντων ὁρμήματα, ἄλλα δὲ πιθήκων μιμήματα, καὶ πάλιν, τοιοῦτος ὁ τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς στόλος, τοιοῦτον τὸ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς τέλος.*[377]
>
> (There is yet another *parison*, the so-called perfect *parison*, as in the example given by the Theologian [i.e., Gregory of Nazianzus]. [For example,] "some are the impulses of lions, others the mimicries of apes" and again "such impious means, such pious ends.")

The example from Gregory of Nazianzus is from his much-quoted *Oration on the Nativity* (36), and Gregory of Corinth has singled out only three words from it, which

[377] Walz, *Rhetores graeci*, vol. 7, bk. 2, 1228 (Commentary on Hermogenes' *Peri methodou deinotêtos*).

all end on an accentual dactyl: *δοξάσατε, ἀπαντήσατε, ὑψώθητε* ("glorify," "come and meet," "raise yourselves"). The other two examples show perfect accentual responsion between their two halves: *ἄλλα μὲν λεόντων ὁρμήματα, ἄλλα δὲ πιθήκων μιμήματα* (/- - -/- -/--, /- - -/- -/--) and *τοιοῦτος ὁ τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς στόλος, τοιοῦτον τὸ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς τέλος* (-/- - - --/ /-, -/- - - --/ /-).

Thus Gregory of Corinth's definition of the perfect *parison* involves rhythmical regularity, and is quite similar to the definition given by an anonymous author of a treatise on figures:

> *Τὸ δὲ πάρισον γίνεται, ὅταν δύο ἢ πλείονα κῶλα μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τὰς συλλαβὰς ἴσας ἔχῃ· εἰ δ' οὖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γένος καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὸν ῥυθμόν, οἷον τὸ τίνα τῶν ἀνθρώπων κινήματα, τίνα δὲ τῶν πιθήκων ὁρμήματα. εἴ τι μὲν οὖν πάρισον, καὶ ὁμοιοκατάληκτον, οὐ μὴν εἴ τι ὁμοιοκατάληκτον, ἤδη καὶ πάρισόν ἐστι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μόνας τὰς τελευταίας συλλαβὰς ὁμοίας ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἐν πάσαις ἔχει τὰς συγκρούσεις καὶ ὁμοιώσεις.*[378]
>
> (We have *parison* when two or more *kola* have, most of all, an equal number of syllables. If this is not the case, then [when they are] equivalent with respect to gender, number, and besides tense and rhythm, as for example "some are the emotions of humans, while others the impulses of apes." If therefore, something is *parison*, it is also *homoeokatalêkton* [i.e., it has an identical ending], but if it is *homoeokatalêkton*, it is not a *parison* yet. For the one [i.e., the *homoeokatalêkton*] only has the same number of final syllables, while the other [i.e., the *parison*] has in everything similarity and an identical beat [i.e., rhythm].)

The phrase quoted by Gregory of Corinth appears here slightly modified, to illustrate the point that if the syllables are equal in number, then we have a *homoeokatalêkton*,

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[378] L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1856 (repr. 1966)), vol. 3, 185-86. An almost identical definition appears as early as the fifth or sixth century AD in a treatise on the figures by Zonaeus (Spengel, *Rhetores graeci*, vol. 3, 169) – which shows not only the continuity of the educational tradition, but also the validity of the principles taught.

but not necessarily a *parison*; a *parison* has everything in similarity (i.e., equivalency with respect to gender, number, tense and rhythm). The two halves of the example differ by one syllable, but they do show near-regular accentual responsion, which explains the reference to identical rhythm. The perfect *parison*, therefore, also shows perfect accentual responsion, while a partial *parison* can show near-regular responsion.

Not every *parison*, however, needs to be strictly rhythmical, as is evident from the following examples given by the grammarian Stephanus (perhaps of Constantinople, twelfth century):

> *Πάρισόν ἐστιν, ἐὰν ἴσα τὰ κῶλα, οἷον τὸ Δημοσθενικόν, "τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα," ἐννεασύλλαβον, "ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι," καὶ τοῦτο ἐννεασύλλαβον, "τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι," καὶ τοῦτο ὡσαύτως, εἶτα κομμάτιον "παρανόμων γράφῃ." παρόμοιον δέ, ἐὰν ἔχῃ ὁμοιότητα κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ ὁμοιοτέλευτα ᾖ. κατ' ἀρχὰς μέν, οἷον "προσήκει προθύμως" καὶ τὸ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἀπὸ τοῦ Συμποσίου "Παυσανίου παυσαμένου." πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Παυσανίου ἔλεγεν ὁ Φαῖδρος, μετὰ δὲ Παυσανίαν Ἀριστόδημος ἐπιλέγει· ὁ δὲ λόγος τούτοις περὶ ἔρωτος ἦν.*[379]
>
> (We have *parison* when the *kola* are equal, as for example, [in] the Demosthenic [sentence] "To accept, therefore, gifts" has nine syllables, "is agreed to be legal," also has nine syllables, "but to bestow gratitude," is the same, and then comes the short *komma* "is indicted as illegal."[380] We have *paromoeon* when [the phrase] is identical in the beginning or has a *homoeoteleuton* at the end. In the beginning, as for example, "it is befitting [to hear] eagerly"[381] and Plato's [phrase] from the *Symposium* "ceasing with Pausanias."[382] For Phaedrus spoke before Pausanius, and after that Aristodemus provided a conclusion. Their discourse was about love.)

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[379] Hugo Rabe, *Stephani in artem rhetoricam commentarium* (Berlin: Reimer, 1896), 321.

[380] *De corona* 119.

[381] *Olynthiac* 1.1.

[382] *Symposium* 185c.

As Stephanus points out, the phrases "*τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα*," "*ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι*," and "*τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι*" all have an equal number of syllables and that makes them *parisa*; they are not, however, isorhythmical, that is, there is no responsion or other kind of accentual regularity between them. Accordingly, Stephanus mentions nothing about their rhythm and moves on to explain another figure, the *paromoeon*, which could be either the same as *homoeoteleuton* (i.e., grammatical rhyme) or could display identical beginnings, as in the quoted phrases, which begin on identical sounds "*προ – προ*" and "*Παυσ – παυσ*."[383]

The accentual responsion in *parisa* does not always have to be exact – it seems that it depended on the teacher to decide what constituted a rhythmical *parison* and what did not. In Gregory of Corinth's examples above, we have both exact and approximate responsion (that is, plus or minus one syllable). One of Demosthenes' scholiasts, when pointing out what seems to be a perfect *parison* in *Olynthiac* 2.5, also shows tolerance for approximate responsion:

> *"συμβαίνει δεῖσθαι:" κατὰ τὸ τέλος πάρισον. καὶ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Ὀλυνθιακῷ πάρισον κατὰ τὸ τέλος "ἂν τὰ παρόντα ἀναλώσῃ πρὸς ἃ μὴ δεῖ, τῶν ἀπόντων εὐπορῆσαι πρὸς ἃ δεῖ."*[384]
>
> ("requires to bring:" a *parison* at the end [of the clauses]. There is also a *parison* at the end [of the clauses] in the *Third Olynthiac*[385]: "should he spend the existing on what he does not need, he would find himself in a difficulty as far as what he does need.")

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[383] For more on the different kinds of *parison* and its relation to *homeoteleuton*, *paronomasia*, *parêchesis*, and *paromoeon*, see Gregory of Corinth (Walz, *Rhetores graeci*, vol. 7, bk. 2, 1262-63).

[384] M.R. Dilts, *Scholia Demosthenica*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1983-86) "Olynthiakos B," 37a.

[385] *Olynthiac* III:19.

In *Olynthiac* 2 the phrase "*συμβαίνει δεῖσθαι*" (-/- /-) corresponds to "*συμφέρειν εἰρῆσθαι*" from the next clause, which is the intended second pair of the *parison* (-/- -/-). The responsion is not perfect, but one syllable short. In the next example, however, "*τὰ παρόντα ἀναλώσῃ*" (- -/- --/-) is accentually equivalent to "*τῶν ἀπόντων εὐπορῆσαι*" (- -/- --/-), while the pair "*πρὸς ἃ μὴ δεῖ*" and "*πρὸς ἃ δεῖ*" is one syllable off and therefore partially equivalent. Possibly for the sake of pedagogical example, the scholiast has reinserted the elided vowel in "*τὰ παρόντα ἀναλώσῃ,*"[386] thus producing hiatus. Probably the case is that prose rhythm was not an exact art: in reading and declamation, the speaker would have been able to stretch out or shorten the time intervals between the accents so that the beats of the stresses would come at equal intervals.[387]

Yet again, the presence or absence of a single syllable could make or break the rhythm, depending on where the stresses fall:

> *"ἐμοὶ μὲν χρήσασθε:" τῶν ἰσούντων διαλύει τὴν ἁρμονίαν. τὸ γὰρ ἠθικὸν οὐκ ἐθέλει τὴν τῆς λέξεως εὐρυθμίαν ἐνδύεσθαι.*[388]
>
> ("do with me:" he destroys the harmony of the equivalent phrases, because he does not wish to clothe the ethical argument with the pleasing rhythm of style.[389])

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[386] The alpha is elided in S.H. Butcher's edition, *Demosthenis orationes*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903).

[387] Compare with Eustathius' remark on the actual number of syllables in contemporary political verse: a line could contain more than fifteen syllables, but adjacent vowels needed to be spoken quickly so as to not ruin the rhythm (Valk, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 1, 19).

[388] Dilts, *Scholia Demosthenica*, "Peri tês parapresbeias," 233.

[389] Demosthenes, *De falsa legatione* 109.

The phrase "*ἐμοὶ μὲν χρήσασθε*" ["do with me"] is obviously intended to be paired with "*ὅ τι βούλεσθε*" ["as you wish"]. Demosthenes is putting an imaginary speech in the mouth of Aeschines, thus showing that Aeschines should have admitted his mistake in trusting Philip and thrown himself at the mercy of the Athenian Assembly. The scholiast maintains that, in his desire to deliver a strong ethical argument, Demosthenes destroys the rhythm of the equivalent phrases, which, when put together, read, "*ἐμοὶ μὲν χρήσασθ' ὅ τι βούλεσθε*" (that is, the epsilon is elided). In other words, when read separately, they show perfect responsion, save for the very first syllable in the beginning, which is unaccented and can be rhythmically ignored: - / - /-- and / - /--. If conjoined and read as a whole, the rhythm runs -/-/- - -/--, and the otherwise rhythmical effect of the rhyme *χρήσασθε – βούλεσθε* is completely lost, because the stresses fall in different places.

The *parison* is not the only rhetorical figure considered rhythmical by the Byzantines. So are the *homoeokatalêxis* and the *homoeoteleuton*, as pointed out by another of Demosthenes' scholiasts, who praises the speech against Androtion for its pleasing rhythms owing to the presence of the above figures.[390] *Homoeoteleuton* is grammatical rhyme, which normally displays accentual responsion, since the accents tend to fall either on the same morphemes or on the root preceding the morphemes (for example, *ἐποίησε – κατέστησε*, *θέσθω – μεθέσθω*, or *ὀνειδίζω – ἐξετάζω*), while *homoeokatalêxis* is a figure characterized by similar endings (not necessarily

[390] Dilts, *Scholia Demosthenica*, "Kata Androtiônos," 1a.

grammatically identical), which also often displays responsion (for example, *τυρὸς ξηρός, τυρὸς κοπτός, τυρὸς ξυστός*).

To sum up so far, evidence of teaching practices from rhetorical commentaries and treatises and from scholia on classical texts shows that the term "rhythmical" was associated with either responsion or some kind of regular alternation of stresses. The Byzantine teachers sought out such patterns in classical texts and pointed them out to their students as examples of good rhythm. This was especially the case with certain rhetorical figures such as the *parison*, which were expected to include some kind of regular accentual pattern.

If these were the precepts of teaching good rhythm then, is it reasonable to expect to find them in practical oratory as well? Yes – and the rest of this chapter will strive to demonstrate how the theoretical principles play out in practice. As I argue in Chapter 2, prose rhythm consists of word arrangement (*synthêkê*) and cadence (*anapausis*), with the basic unit of rhythm being the individual word and its accent. Word arrangement, then, would refer to placing words in such a way as to ensure the formation of a pattern of responsion or regular alternation, while cadence refers to the *cursus*. As the rhythm of prose is not the same as the rhythm of poetry, however, these patterns would not be expected to occur at highly regular rates, but most conspicuously in places that need emphasis. Likewise, the scholiasts do not discuss rhythm all the time, but only in key passages, as in the following excerpt from a *scholion* on Demosthenes, in which the author gives examples of the four

enthymematic figures: demonstrative (*epideiktikon*), contradictory (*elenktikon*), syllogistic (*syllogistikon*), and mixed (*mikton*):

> *μικτὸν δέ "ὥσπερ γὰρ εἴ τις ἐκείνων ἑάλω, σὺ τάδε οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψας" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. ἀρετὴ δὲ ἐνθυμήματός ἐστι βραχύτης κώλων καὶ εὐρυθμία κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων.*[391]
>
> ([An example of] the mixed kind is "Just as if one of them had been convicted, you would not have proposed these things" and so on [*In Aristocratem* 99].[392] The virtue of the enthymeme is the brevity of its *kola* and the pleasing rhythm, which [comes about] from the arrangement of words.)

The full period is "*ὥσπερ γάρ εἴ τις ἐκείνων ἑάλω, σὺ τάδ' οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψας, οὕτως ἐὰν σὺ νῦν ἁλῷς, ἄλλος οὐ γράψει*" ("Had one of them been convicted, you would not have proposed these things; so if you are convicted now, another one will not be indicted") – the commas reflect the *kola* divisions. It is a conditional sentence making a probability argument: if one of those who had committed an illegal act had been convicted (apparently, no one was), then Aristocrates would not be proposing to change the law and make that act legal today, and if he is convicted today, no one else will be indicted in the future for committing the same illegal act. Thus, the first *kolon* pairs up with the last, and the second pairs with the third. In terms of stress, the pattern looks like this: "*ὥσπερ γάρ εἴ τις ἐκείνων ἑάλω*" (/- - /- -/- -/-) anticipates "*ἄλλος οὐ γράψει*" (/-- /-), while "*σὺ τάδ' οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψας*" (/- - - /--) looks forward to the following "*οὕτως ἐὰν σὺ νῦν ἁλῷς*" (/- -- / - -/). The *kola* are of different length, yet the patterns show accentual responsion, inasmuch as possible. The first *kolon* establishes

[391] Dilts, *Scholia Demosthenica*, "Pros Leptinên," 20.

a rhythm of accentual dactyls (three and a half), which is echoed briefly in the fourth *kolon* (one and a half accentual dactyls), which gives terse closure to the premise of the condition and to the whole period. Similarly, the second *kolon* is made up of an accentual paeon and a dactyl,[393] which configuration is repeated in the third *kolon* (with one extra stress as the end). Thus the rhythmical pattern here is accentual equivalency between *kola* parallel in meaning.

Next I will turn to a few examples from homilies. Certain parts of Proclus' homily *On the Sunday of Thomas* lend themselves particularly well to this kind of analysis:[394]

Ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο τῆς θείας οἰκονομίας μυστήριον, (--/- -/- -/- ---/- -/--) *(1)*
τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι τὸν μαθητήν. (-/ -/- ---/)
Εἰ γὰρ παρῆν, οὐκ ἂν ἠμφισβήτησεν, (- - -/ - - --/--)
εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀμφέβαλεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐψηλάφησεν, (- - / -/-- - - - -/--)
εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐψηλάφησεν, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἐπίστευσεν, (- - / --/-- - - /- -/- -) *(5)*
εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἐπίστευσεν, οὐκ ἂν ἡμᾶς οὕτω πιστεύειν ἐδίδαξεν, (- -/ /- -/-- - - -/ /- -/- -/--)
ὥστε καὶ ἡ ἀπιστία τοῦ μαθητοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως μήτηρ γεγένηται. (-- - - --/- - --/ - --/- /-- /--/--)

> (Was not this a great mystery of the divine providence/ that the disciple was not present!/ For if he was present, he would not have disputed [it],/ if he had not disputed [it], he would not have touched,/ if he had not touched, he would not have believed in this way,/ if he had not believed in this way, he would not have taught us to believe thus/ so that the unbelief of the disciple has become the mother of our faith.)

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[392] *In Aristocratem* 99.

[393] I count *τάδ'* as having a secondary/weak stress.

[394] F. J. Leroy, *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1967), 238. Line numbering mine.

The first line begins on a sequence of regular dactyls, interrupted by the phrase "*θείας οἰκονομίας*" ("divine providence"), which yields four unaccented syllables between the stresses, thus drawing attention to itself. The next line, "*τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι τὸν μαθητήν*" ("that the disciple was not present") accomplishes two goals: it establishes the emphatic pattern of having two stresses very close together (zero to two syllables apart), which will be repeated four times below, and it repeats the pattern of the divine providence, i.e., four unaccented between the accents, drawing a rhythmical parallel between the divine providence and the absence of the disciple. The following line, "*Εἰ γὰρ παρῆν, οὐκ ἂν ἠμφισβήτησεν*" ("If he was present, he would not have disputed [it]"), rhythmically continues to elaborate on the theme of divine providence by having three to four unaccented syllables between the stresses, while the fourth and fifth lines pick up the rhythmical emphasis established in line two, that is two spoken accents very close together, which stress the importance of Thomas' absence. The fifth and sixth line reinforce the same emphatic pattern of "if he had not .. he would not have" ("*εἰ δὲ* **μὴ ἐψηλά***φησεν, οὐκ ἂν* **οὕτως ἐπί***στευσεν*" - - **/ --/**-- - - **/- -/**- - and "*εἰ δὲ* **μὴ οὕ***τως ἐπίστευσεν, οὐκ ἂν* **ἡμᾶς οὕ***τω πιστεύειν ἐδίδαξεν,*" - **-/ /**- -/-- - - -**/ /**- -/- -/--), as well as the pattern of the divine providence, which is essentially setting the phrase off by a larger number of unstressed syllables than the beginning or end of the *kolon*. In the seventh line, the rhythm settles to a steady dactylic beat with the concluding phrase "*ἡμετέρας πίστεως μήτηρ γεγένηται*" (has become the mother of our faith): --/- /-- /- -/-- , which harks back to the opening line.

Similar patterns of either perfect or approximate responsion can be observed in Epiphanius' *Homily on the Entombment of Christ and the Descent into Hades*:

γῆ ἐφοβήθη καὶ ἡσύχασεν, (/ --/- - -/--) *(1)*
ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς σαρκὶ ὕπνωσε, (-- - -/ -/ /--)
καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὑπνοῦντας ἀνέστησεν. (- - - -/- -/- -/--)
Ὁ Θεὸς ἐν σαρκὶ τέθνηκε, καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἐτρόμαξεν. (- -/ - -/ /-- - - /- -/--)
Ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς βραχὺ ὕπνωσε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ ἐξήγειρε. (- -/ - -/ -// - - - - /- -/--) *(5)*
Ποῦ ποτε νῦν εἰσιν αἱ πρὸ βραχέος (/ -- / -- - - -/-)
ταραχαὶ, καὶ φωναὶ, καὶ θόρυβοι κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, (--/ - -/ - /-- -- - -/)
ὦ παράνομοι; (/ -/--)
ποῦ οἱ δῆμοι, καὶ ἐνστάσεις, καὶ τάξεις, (/ - /- - -/- - /-)
καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ δόρατα; (- - /- - /--) *(10)*
ποῦ οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ κριταὶ οἱ κατάκριτοι; (/ - --/ - --/ - -/ - -/--)
ποῦ αἱ λαμπάδες καὶ μάχαιραι καὶ οἱ θρύλλοι οἱ ἄτακτοι; (/ - -/- - /-- - - /- - /--)
ποῦ οἱ λαοὶ, καὶ τὸ φρύαγμα, (/ - -/ - - /--)
καὶ ἡ κουστωδία ἡ ἄσεμνος;[395] (- - --/- - /--)

> (The earth was frightened and became quiet,/ because God fell asleep in the flesh/ and raised those who had been sleeping for ages./ God died in the flesh and *hades* trembled./ God fell asleep for a little while and raised those in *hades*./ Where is now the commotion, the shouting, and the din from not too long ago, [which were] against Christ?/ o, law-transgressors?/ Where are the factions, the prosecution, the bands of soldiers?/ The arms and the spears?/ Where are the kings, the priests, and the condemned judges?/ The torches, the daggers, and the disorderly babble?/ Where the crowds and the insolence?/ And the impious guard?)[396]

Epiphanius has created rhythmical parallels between key points in this passage. The theme of the *kolon* "*ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς σαρκὶ ὕπνωσε*" ("because God fell asleep in the flesh," -- - -/ -/ /--) is repeated rhythmically in "*ἐν σαρκὶ τέθνηκε*" ("died in the flesh," - -/ /--)

[395] Migne, *Patrologiae graecae* 43: 440. Line numbering mine.

[396] See Chapter 1, 81-83. I am using the same example in order to help the reader follow my argument better.

and "*πρὸς βραχὺ ὕπνωσε*" ("fell asleep for a little while," - -/ /--) as far as the emphatic close packing of stresses. Similarly, "*καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἐτρόμαξεν*" ("and *hades* trembled," - - /- -/--) is echoed in "*καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ ἐξήγειρε*" ("and lifted up those in *hades*," - - - - /- - /--), which is the actual explanation for why *hades* trembled. Then follow a series of enumerations, which closely resemble each other in that they are mostly composed of accentual dactyls: "*ταραχαὶ, καὶ φωναὶ, καὶ θόρυβοι*" ("the commotion, the voices, the din," --/ - -/ - /--), "*οἱ δῆμοι, καὶ ἐνστάσεις, καὶ τάξεις*" ("the factions, the prosecution, the soldiers," - /- - -/- - /-), "*καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ δόρατα*" ("and the arms and the spears," - - /- - /--), "*καὶ κριταὶ οἱ κατάκριτοι*" ("and the condemned judges," - -/ - - /--), "*ποῦ αἱ λαμπάδες καὶ μάχαιραι*" ("where the torches and the daggers," / - -/- - /--), "*καὶ οἱ θρύλλοι οἱ ἄτακτοι*" ("and the disorderly babble," - - /- - /--), "*ποῦ οἱ λαοὶ, καὶ τὸ φρύαγμα*" ("where the crowds and the insolence," / - -/ - - /--), echoed at the end of the last *komma* "*καὶ ἡ κουστωδία ἡ ἄσεμνος*" ("and the impious guards," - - --/- - /--). The rhythm of this list is broken only by the phrase "*ποῦ οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς*" ("where are the kings and the priests," / - --/ - --/), which is composed of accentual paeons that lend weight to it and also hark back to the paeon in "*δῆμοι καὶ ἐνστάσεις*" ("the crowds and the prosecution," /- - -/--), which prosecution is rightfully associated with the kings and the priests.

The beginning of Photius' homily *On Palm Sunday* offers yet another example of creating a rhythmical paradigm between phrases similar in meaning:

Ὅτε τῶν παίδων ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις ἀναβοώντων ἡ ἐκκλησία σαλπίσει,
(-- - /- --/ - - -/- ---/- - --/- -/-)
καὶ τῆς λαμπρᾶς ἐκείνης καὶ θεοπρεπεστάτης φωνῆς ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τὸν ἦχον ἑλκύσω,

(- - -/ -/- - ----/- -/ - --/ - /- -/-)
μετάρσιος ὅλος γίνομαι τῇ προθυμίᾳ –
(-/-- /- /-- - --/-)
δεινὸν γὰρ ἡ χαρὰ χρῆμα καινοποιῆσαι τὴν φύσιν
(-/ - - -/ /- ---/- - /-)
καὶ πόθος οὐκ οἶδε μένειν καιροῦ προσκαλοῦντος –
(- /- - /- /- -/ --/-)
καὶ λογισμῶν θειοτέρων θειοτέρῳ δρόμῳ περιέρχομαι τὴν Βηθανίαν
(- --/ --/- --/- -/ --/-- - --/-)
καὶ χεῖρας κροτῶ χορεύων
(- /- -/ -/-)
καὶ συναγελάζομαι σκιρτῶν τοῖς νηπίοις
(- ---/-- -/ - -/-)
τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον συγκαταρτιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τῷ δεσπότῃ,
(- --/-- /- ----/-- -/ - -/-)
ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις,
(--/ - - -/-)
εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.[397]
(---/- - -/-- - -/-- -/-)

> (When, as the children cry out, "Hosanna in the highest," the Church sounds her clarion call/ and I draw into my ears that splendid and most God-becoming sound/ I am altogether transported with zeal/ (for joy is a mighty thing to renew nature/ and desire knows not how to wait when the time bids)/ and I go about Bethany in the course of godly thought,/ and I clap my hands and dance/ and leaping I join the troop of infants/ and fashion with then a victorious anthem for the Lord/ "Hosanna in the highest./ Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.")[398]

In comparison with Proclus and Epiphanius' excerpts, the clauses here are quite long and somewhat prosaic: the homily opens on a beautiful regular pattern (-- - /- --/ - - - /- ---/- - --/), but no sort of rhythmical regularity follows until the very end of the

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[397] Laourdas, Vasileios. *Photiou homiliai*. *Ekdosis keimenou, eisagogê kai scholia* (Thessaloniki: Etaireias makedonikôn spoudôn, 1959), 83.

[398] This poetic translation belongs to Cyril Mango, *Homilies of Photius*, 153.

period. Photius moves through the successive *kola* as if through a narrative – which is a narrative of sorts: he describes hearing the trumpet call, drawing it into his ears, then imagining himself journeying in Bethany, and celebrating together with the children. Despite the formal vocabulary, the rhythm of the opening period is quite informal and strengthens the personal touch of the first-person imaginary celebration. The last *kolon*, however, in a rhythmically surprising turn, suddenly repeats the opening phrase: "*εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου*" ("blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," ---/- --/-- --/-- -/-). It is a variation on the theme "*Ὅτε τῶν παίδων ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις ἀναβοώντων*" ("when, as the children cry out, "Hosanna in the highest," -- - /- --/ - - -/- ---/-) and rounds off the thought as well as the period most suitably.

In this chapter I have been arguing that the Byzantines taught prose rhythm by singling out patterns of regular accentual alternation or accentual responsion in classical texts. By extension, this practice translated into creating such patterns in practical oratory – which I tried to show with examples from the openings of three homilies. In conclusion I will briefly address the question of whether such accentual patterns are accidental in classical texts – although this is not a significant concern at this point, because whether they were accidental or not, the Byzantines still singled them out.

Unfortunately, not much work has been done on the issue of accentuation in classical texts, because it has generally been considered the domain of musicologists. Yet the few studies on classical accentuation strongly indicate that accentual

responsion in classical poetry does exist – although it is not nearly as regular as the alternation of long and short syllables – for the purposes of retaining intelligibility in musical performance. Since pitch accent played an important part in word recognition,[399] accentual responsion is perhaps an effort on the part of the poet to avoid distortion of the text if the accentuated syllables (which would be pronounced on different kinds of raised pitch) are set to low tones and vice versa.[400] As there is a strong correspondence between accentuation and pitch movement in classical (and Byzantine) Greek music, it is reasonable to expect that if the lines were set to similar melodies, the melodic pitch of the word accent should match the pitch movement of the melody.[401]

Accent probably played a significant part in rhetorical performance as well. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for example, speaks at length about the melodic intricacy of human speech[402] and contends that the art of the rhetor is not far removed from that of the musician, since the rhetor is under equal obligation to modulate his voice in a pleasing manner,[403] which – as already discussed in Chapter

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[399]See, for example, Aristotle, *Sophistici elenchi* 4.

[400] See Erik Wahlström, "Accentual Responsion in Greek Strophic Poetry," *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 47 (1970): 5-22 and Lionel Pearson, "The Dynamics of Pindar's Music: Ninth Nemean and Third Olympian," *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1977): 54-69.

[401] Warren Anderson ("Word-Accent and Melody in Ancient Greek Texts," *Journal of Music Theory* 17, no. 2 (1973): 186-202) takes exception to that view, but his opinion is, as far as I know, in the minority among musicologists.

[402] *De compositione verborum* 11.

[403] *De compositione verborum* 12.

2 – the Asiatic orators overdid and produced the singing effect so many Atticists complained about.

Perhaps it would be useful to illustrate the importance of accent with an example. Favorinus, among other Asiatic orators, was especially admired for the rhythm of his prose and the pleasing pitch movements of his delivery.[404] The following is an accentual breakdown of the beginning of Favorinus' *Corinthian Oration*:

Ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεδήμησα τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ, (-- - /- --/-- -/- - --/-)
ἀφ' οὗ δέκα ἔτη σχεδόν, (- - /- /- -/)
καὶ τῶν λόγων μετέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ (- - /- -/-- -/-)
καὶ τοῖς τέλεσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις, (- - -/-- - --/-)
ἔδοξα ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι *[ἔτι δὲ] [οἰκεῖος]* *ὑμῖν* (/-- --/-- -/ -- - -/- -/)
οὕτω σφόδρα ὡς οὐδὲ Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος. (-- /- - -- -/- --/-)
Ἀρίονος μέν γε τύπον οὐκ ἐποιήσασθε. (-/-- - - /- - --/--)
ὅταν δὲ ὑμᾶς λέγω, (-- - -/ /-)
τοὺς προγόνους λέγω τοὺς ὑμετέρους (- -/- -/ - --/-)
καὶ Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου τὸν σοφόν, (- -/-- - -/- - -/)
ἐφ' οὗ Ἀρίων ἐγένετο, (- - -/- -/--)
[ὃς] καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε (- - -/-- -/ -/- -/--)
καὶ ὠνόμασε (- -/--) *καὶ ἐδίδαξεν* (- -/--) *ἐν Κορίνθῳ.*[405] (- -/-)

> (When I first visited your city/ almost ten years ago/ and shared some of my speeches with the people/ and with your magistrates/ I seemed to be on friendly terms with you – and even close/ so much so as not even Arion the Methymneian [had been]./ At any rate, you did not make an image of Arion./ When I say "you"/ I mean your progenitors,/ and Periander the Wise of Kypselos/ in whose time Arion was born/ who first among men invented the dithyramb/ and called [it so]/ and taught [it]/ in Corinth.)

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[404] For a detailed discussion of Favorinus' musical deliveries, see Mary Goggin, "Rhythm in the Prose of Favorinus," *Yale Classical Studies* 12 (1951): 149-201, esp. 152 ff.

[405] J. von Arnim, *Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum quae exstant omnia*, vols. 1-2, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Weidmann, repr. 1962), 2: 17. Favorinus' *Korinthiakos* has traditionally been ascribed to Dio Chrysostom.

As already demonstrated by Mary Goggin, Favorinus does not use the accentual cursus; his clausulae are purely quantitative and typical of the Asiatic style of oratory. In the quoted passage, however, the accentuation is quite conspicuous in places obviously intended to be emphatic. The occasion of Favorinus' oration is the taking down of his statue from the front seats of the library. On one of his previous visits to Corinth, he had so charmed the city with his oratory that they had asked him to leave his native Ephesus and take up his residence in Corinth – a request he refused. The citizens then made a statue of him and set it up in the library. Some time later Favorinus fell out of favor with Hadrian, and the Corinthians took down his statue. In the *Corinthian Oration* Favorinus defends his now missing statue as if in a court of law.[406] In the opening periods he speaks of the good will he had enjoyed previously with the Coritnhians – so much so that they made an image of him, which they had not done even for Arion, the famous inventor of the dithyramb, who was saved in the open sea by dolphins enchanted with his singing. The emphasis here would obviously fall on Arion – in order to make the comparison more significant. Significantly, the phrase "*Ἀρίονος μέν γε τύπον οὐκ ἐποιήσασθε*" ("At any rate, you did not make an image of Arion," -/-- - - /- - --/--) has quite a regular accentual rhythm, the end of which (--/--) is repeated several times below, again with reference to Arion: "*Ἀρίων ἐγένετο*" ("[when] Arion was born," - -/--), "*ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε*"

406 L. Michael White ("Favorinus' *Corinthian Oration*: A Piqued Panorama of the Hadrianic Forum" in Daniel Schowalter and Steven J. Friesen, eds., *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary*

("invented [first among] men," - -/--), "*καὶ ὠνόμασε*" ("called [it so]," - -/--), "*καὶ ἐδίδαξεν*" ("and taught [it]," - -/--), "*ἐν Κορίνθῳ*" ("in Corinth," - -/-). The example is too conspicuous to be a mere coincidence, especially because it is at the end of the period and is clearly intended to be emphatic, given the *καὶ – καὶ* repetition as well as the string of aorist verbs *ἐποίησε – ὠνόμασε – ἐδίδαξεν*.

This example is only meant to serve the point that accentuation in classical oratory and poetry needs to be considered seriously. The Byzantines did, after all, regard the political verse – a type of accentual verse – as the heir of the classical trochaic tetrameter, a type of quantitative verse.[407] However, whether this was really the case or not, is not a concern at this point. It has become clear, I hope, from the preceding arguments that in order to teach accentual prose rhythm, the Byzantine teachers singled out and analyzed accentual sequences in classical literature – which, perhaps, explains why, for the most part,[408] they did not discuss prose rhythm with examples from Byzantine literature, as we would have liked them to do. Apparently,

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Approaches (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005) offers an insightful analysis of this oration in its historical and archeological context.

[407] Valk, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 1, 19; a similar claim appears in Maximus Planudes' dialogue on grammar *Peri grammatikês dialogos* (L. Bachmann, ed., *Anecdota graeca* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1828), vol. 2, 3-101); for a full discussion, see Michael Jeffreys, "On the Nature and Origins of the Political Verse," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974), 141-95. Jeffreys, however, does not support the Byzantine claims that the political verse has originated in the classical trochaic tetrameter, but argues for a demotic origin instead.

[408] Of course, Byzantine literature was not excluded from the curriculum – there are numerous examples that the sermons of the early Church Fathers were used in the classroom (as demonstrated, for example, by Siceliotes' commentaries on Hermogenes); Psellos' essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia shows that the works of the seventh-century poet were put to intensive use in the classroom. However, the majority of instruction employed literature from the classical and Hellenistic period.

they did not find that they lacked material from classical and Hellenistic literature for teaching accentual rhythm.

Chapter 4. Old Church Slavonic Rhythm Reconsidered

In Chapter One I argue that the tenth-century Slavonic translators, who probably received their education and knowledge of Greek either from a Greek teacher or in one of the urban schools in Byzantium, tried to render the Greek rhythms of the original homilies in their translations into Old Church Slavonic. The basis of the argument is a striking similarity in number between syllables and stresses *per clause* in the Greek and the Slavonic; it has led me to infer that prose rhythm in Greek is syllabotonic – or at least, loosely syllabotonic – and affects the entire clause; it was "translated," to an extent, into OCS. In the next two chapters I address the implications of looking at prose rhythm as something present in the entire clause, not just its ending, and seek theoretical justification as well as practical examples in the Byzantine rhetorical commentaries and *scholia*. Now I will return to the question of rhythm in Old Church Slavonic and whether we can reasonably claim that Greek stress patterns may also have been "imported" into OCS.

Perhaps even before I begin my analysis, I need to address the question of whether it is reasonable and justifiable to look for "translated" rhythmical patterns. The two languages are linguistically unrelated (other than in being members of the very large Indo-European family); perhaps the only similarity is that they are both inflected, and, therefore, word order is flexible to an extent. The Slavs, who arrived

and settled south of the Danube during the fifth and sixth centuries AD, did not share the mythological, literary, or religious heritage of the Greeks, but brought with them their own pantheon of pagan beliefs and deities. In 863 the Slavs and Bulgars living on the territory of khan Boris were officially converted to Christianity; a few years later Boris gladly received the students of the brothers Cyril and Methodius, who had been expelled from Moravia after the deaths of their teachers. They brought the Slavic alphabet, devised by St. Cyril, as well as the two brothers' translations of Scripture and liturgical service books into Slavonic. Boris' son Symeon, who proclaimed himself the first Bulgarian tsar, was a patron of intense literary activity, encouraging translation of religious and philosophical texts from Greek as well as composition of original Slavic texts. In other words, writing and literature entered the Slavic world with and on account of Christianity – and none of them were, so to speak, "native" to the Slavs. Why would there be any rhythmical similarities between Greek and Slavonic; or rather, why would the Slavic translators choose to render Greek prose rhythm?

The first official literary works in Slavonic were St. Cyril's translations of Scripture and liturgical books as well as the two brothers' original compositions of religious hymns and services. From St. Cyril's vita, composed before 882, probably by his brother Methodius, we learn that he received a superb education in Constantinople and served as the emperor's emissary on a number of important foreign missions. The most well-known of these was the Moravian mission to the Slavs (862), the goal of which was to bring the Slavs Scripture and the religious

services in their own language. From the brothers' original compositions we possess a *Canon for St. Demetrius of Salonika*, a *Confession of Faith*, a *Hymn to the Holy Trinity*, a *Prologue to the Gospels*, and a *Narrative of the Finding of the Relics of St. Clement of Rome*. Here, of course, one might make the obvious argument that, since Cyril and Methodius were, in practice, creating a new literary language, which was superimposed on the vernacular, they must have borrowed patterns from the classical Greek and Byzantine literary tradition, with which they were already familiar – as did their students, most of whom carried out intense translation work and probably followed closely the models set up by their teachers.

Recent research on early OCS poetry has proven this hypothesis quite accurate. As I mention in Chapter One, Roman Jakobson is first to draw attention, against commonly held scholarly opinion, to what he calls the Slavs' response to Byzantine poetic structures, i.e., the Slavs' attempts to "translate" and even improve the rhythmical poetic structures of Byzantine hymns.[409] Jakobson's observations concern the syllable count in a Slavic translation of the last *sticheron* (stanza) of the Byzantine Easter Day Matins, *Ἄγγελοι σκιρτήσατε* ("Dance, angels!..."), contained in the so-called Porfiriy leaflet from the twelfth century, which was part of the Chilandar *Sticherarium* (collection of *stichera* or verse service hymns), of which only

[409] Jakobson, "Slavic Response." For a dissenting opinion, see Gail Lenhoff, "Liturgical poetry in Medieval Rus': Prosody as Performance," *Scando-Slavica* 29 (1983): 21-41. Lenhoff implicitly rejects Jakobson's argument on the basis that it contradicts Kiril Taranovsky, A. V. Pozdneev, and Djordje Trifunovic's theories of verse organization and that the internal poetic organization of both Greek and Slavic *heirmoi* is frequently inconsistent. However, the main thrust of Jakobson's argument, as I see it, is that the Slavs have attempted to preserve the poetic structure of the originals – not that all Slavic *heirmoi* display internally consistent organization.

fragments survive.[410] Contrary to then popular scholarly opinion that the Slavs did not write any religious poetry and that they translated Byzantine poetry as prose, Jakobson argues that there is a close relationship between the number of syllables in the original Greek *heirmoi* (beginning stanzas of canons)[411] and their Slavic translations. Thus, for example, a syllable comparison between the Greek and the Slavonic of the *heirmos Τῶν γηγενῶν τὶς ἤκουσε τοιοῦτον* ("Which one from the mortals has heard such a thing…") yields the following results: in a stanza consisting of 12 lines, of which each line has between 3 and 8 syllables, the Slavic translation adds but one syllable to the entire stanza. Not only are the syllables matched line for line and the intricate syllabic patterns strictly followed strictly, but the Slavic translation occasionally "corrects" small imperfections in the syllabic pattern of the Greek text, as another *heirmos*, *ὡς Ἰωνᾶν τὸν προφήτην* ("As Jonas the prophet…"), shows:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Slavic:	8	5	5	5	8	8	5	5	5
Greek:	8	5	4	5	7	8	6	5	5[412]

[410] The Porfiriy leaflet was taken from the Chilandar Monastery on Mount Athos by Archimandrite Porfiriy Uspensky in the middle of the nineteenth century; currently it is in the National Library of St. Petersburg. The *Sticherarium*, according to Jakobson, should be assigned an earlier date, because of its archaic language.

[411] The *heirmos* is the first stanza in a canon; it sets the poetic and musical model for the following odes, which imitate its syllabic and stress patterns, and can also interpret and develop the theme set by the *heirmos*. *Heirmoi* were collected and copied out in a compilation known as the Byzantine *Heirmologion* (which first appeared in the tenth century). The *heirmos* for a given Slavic canon, then, would have been translated from Greek; the remaining verses would be an original composition. Jakobson's argument concerns the translated verses only.

[412] Jakobson, "Slavic Response," 252-53.

Wherever Jakobson encounters a substantial deviation from the syllabic framework of the original, that is, a deviation of two or three syllables per stanza, he sees it as a deliberate attempt to achieve a more symmetrical or otherwise regular pattern of syllabic distribution.[413] Jakobson extends his examples and suggests that the same principles are valid for translations of Byzantine ecclesiastical hymns in most Slavic languages.

After Jakobson, a number of scholars have made significant contributions toward our understanding of Slavic ecclesiastical poetry and prose and its relation to Byzantine poetry. Picchio's argument about the so-called "isocolic" (isotonic, rather) principle in Old Russian prose has been extended to Glagolitic translations of the Gospels and the Byzantine *Euchologion*, as discussed in the first chapter.[414] With regard to originally composed OCS poetry, Krassimir Stanchev has built a very substantial case that the Slavs – and especially those still associated with the Cyrillo-Methodian and the Preslav schools – adapted and employed existing Byzantine poetic models, such as the dodecasyllabic and political verses. Early OCS poems, such as "Prologue to the Gospels" by St. Cyril, "Alphabet Prayer" by Constantine of Preslav, and "Encomium of Tsar Symeon" by an anonymous author, all show a basic line of twelve syllables, with a caesura after the fifth or the seventh (rarely after the sixth) syllable:[415]

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[413] Jakobson, "Slavic Response," 254.

[414] See p. 76ff.

Азъ словомь снмь // молѩ сѧ богоу.
Боже вьсен тваꙗн // н зиждителю.
Вндимъінмъ // н невндимъімъ.
Господа доуха // послн жнвѧщаего.
Да въдъхнетъ // въ срьдьце мн слово.[416]

(With these words I pray to God:
God of all creation and Creator
Of [things] seen and unseen,
Send the Lord [Thy] quickening Spirit
To breathe speech into my heart…)

In this example from "The Alphabet Prayer," each line consists of 12 syllables, with a caesura after the fifth or the seventh syllable – the basic syllabic requirement for the Byzantine dodecasyllabic verse. According to Stanchev, isosyllabism was the leading poetic prinicple in Old Slavic poetry throughout the period of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, after which it disappears, only to reappear again during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, under the influence of Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian baroque syllabic poetry.[417] The syllabic rhythm, in other words, has been imported from Byzantine literature. It is not quite possible to determine at this point, on the basis of the Slavic texts alone, whether the accentual patterns of the dodecasyllable

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[415] Cf. Stanchev, *Poetika na starobulgarskata literatura,* 146-48; *Stilistika i zhanrove na starobulgarskata literatura,* 65-74; "Liturgicheskaia poeziia v drevneslavianskom literaturnom prostranstve;" and "Ritmichnata struktura na Kiriloviia 'Proglas kum Evangelieto'."

[416] The reconstruction belongs to William Veeder (*Utrum in alterum abiturum erat? A Study in the Beginnings of Text Transmission in Church Slavic* (Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 1999), 61-87); I have also used, with small adaptations, Veeder's translation. Each line of the prayer starts with a successive letter from the alphabet (hence the name) – something that cannot be rendered in English.
[417] Stanchev, *Poetika*, 147.

have been imported as well, since South-Slavic stress of the ninth and tenth centuries has yet to be studied sufficiently.

Although much work remains to be done in the field of ninth- to tenth-century South Slavic accentology, a recent study by Regina Koycheva of a canon for the sixth week of Great Lent authored by Constantine of Preslav in the ninth century, shows a persistent repetition of certain vowels and adjacent consonant combinations in each troparion. The repeated sounds are, to an extent, semantically charged; they vary from stanza to stanza. A comparison with the Greek *heirmos* for the first ode of the canon shows that the repeated vowel sounds (which I have capitalized) are also the ones that bear spoken stresses:

ἀκ΄Ηκοεν ὁ προφΉτης // τὴν ἔλευσΊν σου, κΎριε
καὶ ἐφοβΉθη // ὅτι μΈλλεις
ἐκ παρθΈνου τΊκτεσθαι
καὶ ἀνθρώποις δΕΊκνυσθαι
καὶ Ἔλεγεν…[418]

(The prophet has heard / of your coming, [o] Lord,
And he became afraid / that You will
To be born of a virgin
And manifested to men,
And he said…)

In Byzantine Greek, the repeated vowels were all pronounced as [i] (or at any rate, sounded very similar to it): *Ή, Ί, Ύ, ΕΊ*, as well as *Ἔ* [e], also a front vowel sound. In addition, they occur in similar consonantal environments: *κ΄Ηκ – Ίκ – ΕΊκ, φΉτ – βΉθ – θΈ, Έλλ – Ἔλ*. The vowels also bear the spoken stresses and were probably

sung on a note higher than the rest of the syllables (as discussed in the second chapter). According to Koycheva, the same poetic principles have been followed by the Slavic translator:

0Ꙋслъышалъ естъ пр0р0къ / прнх0дъ тв0н г0сп0дн

Н ѡбо҃Ъ сѧ / ꙗко хощ1Єшн

0тъ д҃Ъвы р0дНтН сѧ

Н чловЄкомъ ѣвНтН сѧ

Н глаголааше (глаголА?)…

Since the Slavic translator has attempted to preserve the same number of syllables per line, has similarly employed assonance and consonance, and has kept the Greek homoeoteleuton *τίκτεσθαι – δείκνυσθαι* by rendering it as р0днтн сѧ – ѣвнтн сѧ, it is reasonable to expect, according to Koycheva, that the spoken stresses would fall on the same repeated vowels as they do in the Greek.[419] Her reconstruction отъ д҃ѣ́вы р0дѝтн сѧ н чловѣ́комъ ѣвѝтн сѧ is certainly acceptable in terms of the Middle Bulgarian accent system of the Turnovo dialect.

Koycheva's analysis not only agrees with, but significantly improves on Jakobson's brief observation that – although syllable counts were apparently

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[418] Koycheva, "Sound and Sense," 151-59.

[419] Koycheva, "Sound and Sense," 155-56; on Middle Bulgarian accentuation, see V. A. Dybo, "Zakon Vasil'eva-Dolobko i aktsentuatsiia form glagola," 93-114; and "Imennoe udarenie v srednebolgarskom," 189-272.

extremely important – the translator of the Chilandar *Sticherarium* has, at times, presumably sacrificed word order and syllable count to a symmetrical distribution of accents among verses. Thus the Slavic version of the *heirmos* *Ἔφλεξε ῥείθρῳ τῶν δρακόντων τὰς κάρας* ("With streams of water he set ablaze the heads of the serpents…") abandons the Greek syllabic pattern in order to preserve the same regular distribution of accented word units per *kolon*. To cite another, briefer and more illustrative example, the translator of the *heirmos* *Ἡ δημιουργικὴ καὶ συνεκτική* ("Creating and bringing forth together …") has chosen to render the phrase *θεοῦ σοφία καὶ δύναμις* ("God's wisdom and power") as божиꙗ сила и мудрость ("God's power and wisdom") in order to preserve the accentual profile of the Greek verse: си́ла ("power"), which is presumably accented on the penultimate, takes the place of *σοφία*, which is also accented on the penultimate.[420]

The point that I have been trying to make so far is that the Slavs freely borrowed Greek literary and poetic patterns, at the very least during the first big wave of literary activity, that is, the ninth and tenth centuries. The translators took pains to preserve the literary and poetic composition principles of their Greek originals: as best they could, they kept the same number of syllables per line, the same rhetorical and poetic devices, and, so far as we can tell from liturgical poetry, the same principles for stress placement. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should have applied the same criteria when recreating the rhythm of oratorical prose.

[420] Jakobson, "The Slavic Response," 254-55.

If they strove to preserve the same number of syllables and accented units per *kolon*, as I argue in the first chapter, then we would expect some kind of transmission of the stress patterns as well, since spoken stress was the primary carrier of rhythm. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the accentual systems of the ninth- to tenth-century South-Slavic dialects is quite rudimentary and does not allow a dependable reconstruction of the position of the accents even in a short passage.[421] In addition, we cannot use the same principles as Jakobson and Koycheva used in their own analyses, because the use of rhythm and rhetorical devices in oratorical prose is much more fluid and difficult to pinpoint than in poetry, where the patterns are regular and predictable.

The principles of Byzantine prose rhythm, as argued in the previous two chapters, are the following: the basic unit of rhythm is the individual word with its accent; prose rhythm affects the entire clause and not just the final cadence; places of rhetorical emphasis receive a more careful rhythmical treatment and display regular – but not readily evident – stress patterns, which set off certain phrases or whole themes in "vertical" semantic paradigms. Also according to these principles, the approximate number of syllables in a single rhythmical unit is important in setting the rhythm of the phrase. If we could, therefore, demonstrate a close correspondence between the syllable numbers of *individual rhythmical units* in Greek and OCS, we

[421] Per e-mail exchange with Aleksei Kass'ian from the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow, April 4th, 2007. For more on accent reconstruction, refer to Chapter 1, 56-61.

would be able to draw a tentative conclusion that Greek rhythmical patterns were indeed "translated" into OCS.

It would be impossible to gather extensive amounts of quantitative evidence for this type of argument, because the rhythmical patterns are connected with the meaning of the text, and meaning is something not easily quantifiable. I will, therefore, try to make the case from example, on the basis of four excerpts, each with a different rhetorical function: 1) a prologue comprising an extented simile (Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Homily on the Saturday of Lazarus*); 2) apostrophe as a means of theological exegesis (*idem*); 3) narrative with exegesis (Epiphanius, *On the Entombment of Christ*); and 4) prologue comprising a metaphor, an excerpt familiar from the previous two chapters (Proclus, *On the Sunday of Thomas*).

1). Pseudo-Chrysostom's *Homily on the Saturday of Lazarus* begins with an extended simile in which the speaker compares his own temporary inability to speak well to a nursing mother whose milk has been blocked by a "curd," causing pain both to the mother and the baby (i.e., the audience):

> *Ὥσπερ μήτηρ φιλότεκνος // ἐπιδοῦσα τὴν θηλὴν τῷ νηπίῳ // τέρπεται τοῦ παιδὸς ἐφέλκοντος τὴν ἁπαλὴν τροφὴν τοῦ γάλακτος // ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ θρόμβος τοῦ γάλακτος τυρωθεῖς // ἐμφράξῃ τοὺς ὀχετοὺς τοῦ μαζοῦ // τότε δὴ καὶ τὸ παιδίον κλαυθμυρίζει καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ὀδυνᾶται // τὴν μὲν προαίρησιν τοῦ τρέφειν ἡπλωμένην ἔχουσα // τὴν δὲ τρόφην μὴ ἐπιδιδομένην ὁρῶσα //*
>
> *ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ προτεραίᾳ τὴν θηλὴν τῆς διανοίας ὑμῖν ὑποβαλόντες ἐτερπόμεθα // ὑμῶν ἐφελκόντων τὸ γάλα τοῦ λόγου // ὅτε δὲ τὸ τῆς λήθης νέφος // ὑποδραμὸν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸν λόγον ἀνέκοψεν // τότε δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἠγανακτήσατε // ὡς ἀποστερούμενοι τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν διδαγμάτων τὰ νοήματα // καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐδυσφοροῦμεν τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν ἔχοντες // ἀλλ' ἴσως τοῦτο συμβέβηκεν ἡμῖν ἵνα γνῶμεν // ὅτι οὔτε τοῦ θέλοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος // οὐδὲ τοῦ διώκοντος // ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος θεοῦ.*

Ꙗ҆ко се матн ѹ҆дол҃юба • подавъшн съсъ младеньцоу • веселнтъ сѧ дѣтштоу прнвлаѹѧштоу мѧкъкѫ пнштѫ млѣка • таже і҆гда сѧ сьсѧде млѣко н҆ о҆сыр҃ѣі҆ • ꙁагрѧднтъ пѫтъ сі҆соу • тьгда н҆ дѣтнштѣ҆ плаѹетъ н҆ матн болнтъ • навъикъшн о҆бъіѹаі҆мъ кр҃ьмнтн дѣтнштѣ҆ • а҆ пнштѣ не подаі҆мъі вндѧштн ⁘

Такоже н҆ мъі прьвъін съсъ подавъше оу҆моу вашемоу веселѩа҆хомъ сѧ • вамъ сѫштемъ (съсѫштемъ? – app. cr.) млѣка словъмъ • таже і҆гда ꙁабытнѩ о҆блакъ • прншъдъ на оу҆мъ слово ставн • тъгда же н҆ въі рaꙁгнѣваste сѧ • акъі лнсн сѫште є҆ѹаггѣлнскъін҆хъ оу҆ченнн рaꙁоумa • н҆ мъі пеѹалнхомъ сѧ тьштанніе н҆мѣн҆ѫште • како се сълоѹѹн сѧ намъ да рaꙁоумѣі҆мъ • н҆ако нн хотѧштоуоу҆моу нн текѫштоуоу҆моу • нн женѫштоуоу҆моу • нъ мнлоуі҆ѫштоуоу҆моу богоу •[422]

(Just as a loving mother / who gives her breast to her infant / rejoices when the child draws the gently nourishing milk / but when a curd hardens / and blocks the conduits of the breast / then both the baby cries and the mother suffers, / wishing to provide nourishment / but seeing the nourishment withheld/

Likewise yesterday I rejoiced when I offered to you the breast of my mind / while you are drawing from the milk of my discourse / but when the cloud of forgetfulness / overtook my mind and hindered my discourse / then both you became angry, as your minds were deprived of the teachings of the Gospel / and I became distressed, as I desired [to provide them] / yet perhaps this happened to us so that we may know / that [it depends] not upon man's will, nor upon man's exertion / but upon God's mercy.[423])

Rhythmical analysis of the passage shows a tendency to set off the key concepts of the simile by means of regular stress patterns or by means of patterns similar to each other. Thus the opening two clauses, *Ὥσπερ μήτηρ φιλότεκνος // ἐπιδοῦσα τὴν θηλὴν τῷ νηπίῳ*, "Just as a loving mother // who gives her breast to her infant" ((/)_ /_ _/ _ _ || _ _/_ _ _/ _ _/_), are composed almost entirely of accentual "dactyls," with a

[422] Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik*, vol. 2, 312.

[423] Romans 9:16.

more or less even distribution of stresses throughout the rhythmical units. Skipping a clause, the same pattern is repeated in half of the fourth clause, *ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ θρόμβος*, "but when a curd" (_ _/_ _/_), and is suddenly broken with *τοῦ γάλακτος τυρωθεῖς*, "hardens" (_ /_ _ _ _/), which changes the gentle and stable rhythm into a discord of two words stressed in opposing places (in the beginning and in the end) and twice as many unstressed syllables in between. The next two clauses, *ἐμφράξῃ τοὺς ὀχετοὺς τοῦ μαζοῦ*, "blocks the conduits of the breast" (_/_ _ _ _/ _ _/), and *τότε δὴ καὶ τὸ παιδίον κλαυθμυρίζει καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ὀδυνᾶται*, "then both the baby cries and the mother suffers" (/_ _ _ _ _/_ _ _/_ _ _/_ _ _ _/_) begin on the same discordant pattern, which then evolves into highly regular accentual "paeons," created by three units stressed on the penultimate – as if to emphasize the weight of the pain on both sides. We would expect a highly regular rhythm at the end of the paragraph, that is, with the next two and concluding clauses, *τὴν μὲν προαίρησιν τοῦ τρέφειν ἡπλωμένην ἔχουσα // τὴν δὲ τρόφην μὴ ἐπιδιδομένην ὁρῶσα*, "who wishes to provide nourishment / but sees the nourishment withheld" (_ _ _/_ _ _/_ _ _ _/_ /_ _ || _ _ /_ /_ _ _ _/_ _/_), but on the contrary, the rhythm shows no regularity – perhaps in order to leave the paragraph "open," in anticipation of the second half of the simile, rather than close it off with a nice ring.

The second part of the simile then begins on two long clauses, which establish the referent of the comparison, i.e., the speaker and his audience: *ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ προτεραίᾳ τὴν θηλὴν τῆς διανοίας ὑμῖν ὑποβαλόντες ἐτερπόμεθα // ὑμῶν ἐφελκόντων τὸ γάλα τοῦ λόγου*, "likewise yesterday I rejoiced when I offered to you the breast of my

mind / while you are drawing from the milk of my discourse"[424] (_/_ _ _ _/ _ _ _/_ _ _/ _ _ _/_ _/ _ _ _/_ _ _/_ _ || _/ _ _/_ _ /_ _/_), the first of which establishes a stately rhythm, comprising mostly accentual "paeons," while the second smoothes it to accentual "dactyls," with rhythmical units accented more or less in the middle. The next three clauses, where the preacher speaks of the "cloud of forgetfulness" and his own inability to continue his discourse are marked with very irregular rhythm. The point of the simile comes in the form of a Scriptural quote: *ὅτι οὔτε τοῦ θέλοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος // οὐδὲ τοῦ διώκοντος // ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος θεοῦ*, "that [it depends] not upon man's will, nor upon man's exertion / but upon God's mercy" ((/) _ /_ _/_ _ _/ _ /_ _ || _ / _ _/_ _ || _/ _ _ _/_ _/), marked by anaphora, homoeoteleuton, and intermittent accentual "dactyls" (including the closing Form 2). In other words, in this extended simile, which also serves as a prologue, the conceptually important parts are set off with various regular rhythms.

Are these patterns reflected in any way in the distribution of rhythmical units in the OCS text? As I already mentioned, the best we can do at this point is to compare the length of the rhythmical units between Greek and OCS, in places of conspicuous rhythm. To determine whether the OCS follows the Greek rhythmically, we will need, first of all, the same number of rhythmical units, and second, a syllable deviation of, preferably, zero, but perhaps, no more than two

[424] The use of this figure in Western medieval literature has been studied extensively by Caroline Walker Bynam, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

syllables between the respective units in the two languages. To the regular rhythm of the opening two clauses, the Slavic translator has responded with a similar distribution of rhythmical units: *Ὥσπερ μήτηρ φιλότεκνος // ἐπιδοῦσα τὴν θηλὴν τῷ νηπίῳ* is composed of 2+2, 3 and 4, 3, 4 units each; ꙗко се матн ѹдолюба · подавъшн съсъ младенцоу has 5, 4 and 4, 2, 4 units respectively.[425] The rhythm of the third clause, which in Greek abandons the "dactylic" pattern of the first two, is followed approximately in OCS: for 3, 3, 4, 4, 2, 4 in the Greek, we find 5, 3, 4, 3, 2, 2, in the OCS. Such is the case with the fourth and fifth clauses, i.e., with the "curd" that "blocks the conduits of the flesh:" for 4, 3, 4, 3 and 3, 4, 3 in the Greek, we get 2+2, 4, 2, 5 and 4, 2, 2 in the OCS. What is even more conspicuous, for the highly rhythmical clause *τότε δὴ καὶ τὸ παιδίον κλαυθμυρίζει καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ὀδυνᾶται*, "then both the baby cries and the mother hurts," which in Greek consists of units of 3, 5, 4, 4, 4 syllables, we get a striking correspondence of units of 2, 4, 3, 3, 3 syllables in OCS (тьгда и̓ дѣтнштѣ̀ плачетъ и̓ матн болнтъ). The next two clauses, *τὴν μὲν προαίρησιν τοῦ τρέφειν ἡπλωμένην ἔχουσα // τὴν δὲ τροφὴν μὴ ἐπιδιδομένην ὁρῶσα*, навъıкъшн ѡбъıчаıѥмъ крьмнтн дѣтнштѣ̀ · а̀ пншта не подаıѥмъı вндаштн, "who wishes to provide nourishment / but sees that he is denied nourishment," which are rhythmically irregular in Greek, show a similar irregularity in translation: for 2, 4, 3, 4, 3 in Greek,

[425] For determining the accentual units of the OCS text, refer to the principles described in Chapter 1, 56-61.

we see 4, 5, 3, 3 in OCS; and for 2, 2, 1, 6, 3 in Greek, we see 3, 5, 3 in OCS. Not even the number of rhythmical units is the same. Moreover, the OCS renders the Greek somewhat freely: for *τὴν μὲν προαίρησιν τοῦ τρέφειν ἡπλωμένην ἔχουσα*, we see "who customarily nurses her child" in OCS.

The second half of the simile shows a similar tendency to "translate" rhythmically important parts. Thus the first two clauses, which in Greek show a highly regular and weighty rhythm of accentual "paeons," followed by "dactyls," have been translated in a way that resembles the distribution of their units: for 4, 3, 5, 3, 5, 2, 5, 5 in Greek, we see 3, 2, 3, 2, 4, 2, 3, 7 in OCS; and again for 2, 4, 3, 3 in Greek, we get 2, 3, 2, 3 in OCS. These are followed by a number of irregular clauses, where the speaker laments his own forgetfulness and the impatience of his congregation; to this the OCS translation responds with a much freer treatment of the original text, the most conspicuous of which, perhaps, is *ἀλλ' ἴσως τοῦτο συμβέβηκεν ἡμῖν ἵνα γνῶμεν*, "yet perhaps this happened to us so that we may know," which in Greek has rhythmical units of 3, 2, 4, 2, 2, 3 syllables, while the OCS, како се съломꙋн сѧ намъ да ꙗзꙑмъıѥ̀мъ, shows units of 3, 4, 2, 6 syllables. In contrast, the concluding Scriptural quote, which is also the point of the simile, shows a good correspondence between the two languages: *ὅτι οὔτε τοῦ θέλοντος οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος // οὐδὲ τοῦ διώκοντος // ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος θεοῦ* has a distribution of 4+4, 2+4 || 2+5 || 2+5, 2; and ꙗ̀ко нн хотѧштоꙋо᷈моꙋ нн текѫштоꙋо᷈моꙋ · нн женѫштоꙋо᷈моꙋ · нъ мнлоꙋıѫштоꙋо᷈моꙋ богоꙋ has a distribution of 8, 6 || 6 || 7, 2. In other words, the

Slavic translation has attempted to follow the same or a similar distribution of rhythmical units – as far as their length – in places of heightened rhythm.

2). The second passage, which comes from the same homily, is a long apostrophe directly following and elaborating on a quotation from John 11:43-44, where Jesus raises Lazarus from the dead by calling out his name while standing in front of his tomb. The apostrophe serves to interpret and explicate the meaning of Scripture, as well as convey the Byzantine theological precept that Jesus as the Word (*Logos*) or Wisdom (*Sophia*) of God was instrumental in the creation of the world:

> *Ὦ φωνῆς δύναμις // ᾅδην διαρρήξασα // πύλας χαλκᾶς συντρίψασα // μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συνθλάσασα // νεκρὸν ἀνεγείρασα // ὦ φωνῆς δύναμις // τὰ διεστῶτα μέλη // εἰς ἓν συναγαγοῦσα // καὶ ἀνορθοῦσα // καὶ τὸ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγοῦσα // ἐπίστισον ἀγαπητὲ τὸν νοῦν σου τῇ φωνῇ // καὶ εὑρήσεις αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον // τὸν λέγοντα ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιίᾳ // γενηθήτω φῶς // καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς.*
>
> Ѡ гласа снло • а҆дъ и҆спроврѣгъшн • врата мѣдьна сътъръшн • закоры желєзны съломьшн • мр҃тваго въставьшн • ѡ҆ гласа снло • разно стоу҆штаю ѹ҆ды • въ і҆дино събъравъшн • и҆ простъ поставьшн • и҆ не бывъшаго въ бытиє прнведъшн • прставн възлюбыі҆ennyє ѹ҆мъ сн къ гласоу • и҆ о҆бр҃штєшн само то слово • і҆же і҆стъ вь мнрьстѣ҆мь сътвореннн҆ • да бу҃детъ свѣтъ • и҆ бысть свѣтъ •[426]
>
> (O, power of the voice / which burst through *hades* / and broke down the copper gates / crushed the iron bars / and raised the dead / O, power of the voice / which put together / the fractured limbs, / restored them [to health] /and brought back into being him who [no longer] was / Incline your mind, beloved one, toward this voice / and you will find in it the same Word / who said during the creation of the world / Let there be light / and there was light.)

426 Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik*, vol. 2, 317.

Analysis of the passage shows a predominance of alternating regular forms. The refrain *ὦ φωνῆς δύναμις*, "O, power of the voice," is set apart from the rest of the clauses with an emphatic distribution of stresses very close to one another (/ _/ /_ _); its pattern is unique for the passage and not repeated elsewhere. The rest of the clauses alternate between accentual "dactyls" and accentual "paeons;" the rhythm is reinforced by a number of *homoeoteleuta* and *anaphorae*. Thus the third, fourth, and fifth clauses have an almost identical pattern: *πύλας χαλκᾶς συντρίψασα // μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συνθλάσασα // νεκρὸν ἀνεγείρασα*, "and broke down the copper gates / crushed the iron bars / and raised the dead" (/_ _/ _/_ _ || _/ _ _/ _/_ _ || _/ _ _/_ _), in addition to the rhyme *–psasa*, *-sasa*, *-rasa*. Another refrain follows, after which we have a triple repetition of the form _ _ _ / _ in *τὰ διεστῶτα μέλη // εἰς ἓν συναγαγοῦσα // καὶ ἀνορθοῦσα*, "which put together / the fractured limbs, / restored them [to health]." The next clause shows an alternation of a paeon with another form a syllable longer: *καὶ τὸ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγοῦσα*, "and brought back into being him who [no longer] was" (_ _ _ _ /_ _ _ /_ _ _ _ _/_), yet rhythmically connected with the previous three clauses by means of the rhyme *–gousa*. Finally, after the especially long and stretched out *τὸν λέγοντα ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιίᾳ*, "who said during the creation of the world," which has one stress in the very beginning and one at the very end (_ /_ _ _ _ _ _ _/_), we come to the emphatic ring of *γενηθήτω φῶς // καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς*, "Let there be light /and there was light" (_ _/_ / || _ _/_ _ /).

Comparison of the distribution of rhythmical units between the two languages shows that the OCS text has attempted to follow the Greek very closely. For the sake of brevity here, I will let the figures speak for themselves:

Clause	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	10
Greek (number of syllables per unit)	1+2, 3	2, 5	2, 2, 4	2, 3, 4	2, 5	5, 2	2, 5	6, 4, 5
OCS (number of syllables per unit)	3, 4	3, 4	2, 3, 4	3, 3, 4	4, 4	6, 2	4, 5	7, 4, 4

Clause	11	12	Genesis 1:3a	Genesis 1:3b
Greek (number of syllables per unit)	3, 4, 3, 3	4, 2, 3	4, 1	4, 2
OCS (number of syllables per unit)	3, 6, 3, 3,	5, 3, 3	4, 2	5, 1

3). The third passage is from Epiphanius' popular homily *On the Entombment of Christ and Descent into Hades*, which presents biblical narrative interwoven with theological exegesis. It is based on Matthew 27:57 and Mark 15:43 and refers to Joseph of Arimathea, who came to beg Christ's body of Pilate and, after receiving it, placed it in a tomb he had prepared for himself. Epiphanius uses the occasion to explain the Chalcedonian doctrine of the two natures, i.e., that the person of Christ comprises both the divine and the human natures in their entirety:

> *Ὀψίας γενομένης ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος // τοὔνομα Ἰωσήφ // ὄντως πλούσιος // ὡς πᾶσαν τὴν σύνθετον ὑπόστασιν τοῦ κυρίου κομισάμενος // ἀληθῶς πλούσιος // ὅτι τὴν διττὴν // οὐσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρὰ Πιλάτου ἔλαβε // καὶ γὰρ πλούσιος ὅτι τὸν ἀτίμητον μαργαρίτην // ἠξιώθη κομίσασθαι // ὄντως πλούσιος βαλάντιον γὰρ ἐβάστασεν // γέμον τοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς θεότητος // πῶς γὰρ οὐ πλούσιος ὁ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ζωὴν // καὶ σωτηρίαν κτησάμενος // πῶς δὲ οὐ πλούσιος Ἰωσήφ δῶρον δεξάμενος // τὸν πάντας τρέφοντα καὶ πάντων δεσπόζοντα // ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης // ἦν γὰρ λοιπὸν δύσας ἐν Ἅιδῃ ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος // διὸ ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος πλούσιος τοὔνομα Ἰωσήφ…*

> Позднѣ бывъшоу прнде оловѣкъ · и҃менемъ їѡснф҃ · въ и҃стннѫ богатъ · ꙗ҆ко вь҃се съложеноіе тѣло господь҃не прни҃мъ · въ и҃стннѫ богатъ ꙗ҆ко соугоубоуѧ · о҆снѭ х҃ѵ҃

ѡ́тъ пилата прнѧтъ · и́ богатъ ꙗ́ко бесцѣнна́го внсъра · достои́нъ бы́стъ прна́тн · въ и́стнн҃ богатъ въла́галнште бо понесе · пла́но божа́ствна́аго богата́ства · како бо не богатъ вы́семоу́ мноу́ жнзнь съпасъноіе съта́жавъ · како не богатъ їѡ҃снф҃ ⁘ да́ръ прни́мъ · пнтаі҃шта́аго вы́с҃а и́ вы́сѣмн ѡ́бладаі҃шта́аго · поздѣ бывъшоу́ · бѣ бо оу́бо зашъло въ а́дъ правы́дноіе́ сла́ны́це · тѣмже прнде уловекъ богатъ и́менемы́ їѡ҃снфъ ·[427]

(It was evening when there came a man / named Joseph / who was truly rich / since he received the entire person of the Lord / truly rich / because he took from Pilate / the dual / nature of Christ / rich indeed / because he was esteemed worthy to receive / the dishonored pearl[428] / truly rich because he bore the store-house / full of the treasure of the Divinity / Was he not rich he who came to possess[429] the salvation / and the life of the world / Was Joseph not rich when he received as gift / Him who nourishes all and rules over all / It was evening / because the sun of righteousness had gone down into *hades* for some time / and that is why came a rich man named Joseph…)

The passage is built on the principle of duality through antithesis and paradox, seeking to draw a a symbolic parallel between the events and Christ's two natures. Thus, Joseph is described as receiving an earthly, physical gift, which yet encompasses the divine: he receives from Pilate the two natures of Christ, which nevertheless are comprised of one person (*hypostasis*); the gift is as precious as a pearl yet dishonored (because of the crucifixion); Joseph was a man rich in the earthly sense of the word, yet he is truly rich because he received the store-house full of the divine treasure; he received an earthly gift, yet that was the God of the universe; it

[427] Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik*, vol. 2, 453.

[428] It is not quite possible to retain the ordering of the Greek and OCS clauses here in English translation.

[429] *Idem.*

was evening not only in the literal sense of the word, but also because the sun of righteousness had gone down into hell. Likewise, rhythmically one can identify two tendencies: a short, emphatic rhythm that accompanies the theme of richness and a gentle, stretched-out rhythm that accompanies the theme of divinity. The stress patterns, however, are not as markedly regular as in the previous passage, since Epiphanius' word play, antithesis, and paradox already serve to highlight the two themes in different ways. Thus, for example, Joseph's arrival is introduced with a staccato-like cadence, which is then echoed in the phrases that refer to his wealth: *γενομένης ἦλθεν ἄνθρωπος* ("came a man," _ _ /_ /_ /_ _); *ὄντως πλούσιος* ("truly rich," /_ /_ _); *ἀληθῶς πλούσιος* ("rich indeed," _ _/ /_ _); *καὶ γὰρ πλούσιος ὅτι* ("indeed rich because," _ _ /_ _ /_); *ὄντως πλούσιος* ("truly rich," /_ /_ _); *πῶς γὰρ οὐ πλούσιος* ("was he not rich," /_ _ /_ _), etc.; at the same time, all references and allusions to Christ's person or natures are rendered in stately cadences: *ὡς πᾶσαν τὴν σύνθετον ὑπόστασιν τοῦ κυρίου κομισάμενος* ("since he received the entire person of the Lord," _ /_ _/_ _ _/_ _ _ _/_ _ _/_ _); *ὅτι τὴν διττὴν* ("because the dual," /_ _ _/); *οὐσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρὰ Πιλάτου* ("nature of Christ from Pilate," _/_ _ _ / _ _ _ /_); *τὸν ἀτίμητον μαργαρίτην* ("the dishonored pearl," _ _/_ _ _ _ /_); *γέμον τοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς θεότητος* ("full of the divine treaure," /_ _ _ _/ _ _/_ _); *καὶ σωτηρίαν κτησάμενος* ("possessed the salvation," _ _ _/_ _/_ _), etc.

Compared with the Greek, the Slavonic translation of the passage is very faithful in seeking a similar distribution of units in terms of length:

Clause	1	2	3	4	6	8
Greek (number of syllables per unit)	3, 4, 2, 3, 3, 3	2, 3	3, 4+4, 4, 5	3, 3, 2+3	5, 2+5, 4	2, 3, 5, 4
OCS (number of syllables per unit)	2, 3, 2, 3, 4, 4	4, 3	4, 7, 4, 3	4, 3, 6	4, 7, 3	4, 3, 6, 3

Clause	9	10	11	12	15	16
Greek (number of syllables per unit)	2, 4, 5	2, 4, 5, 2	5, 4	2, 4, 3, 2, 4	2, 2, 2, 3, 7, 3	2, 2, 3, 3, 3, 3
OCS (number of syllables per unit)	2, 6, 4	3, 4, 5, 2	5, 4	2, 4, 4, 2, 3	2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 3	2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 4

4). My final excerpt, the beginning of Proclus' *Homily on the Sunday of Thomas*, is a passage already familiar from the previous chapters.[430] It shows the same tendency to match rhythmical unit for rhythmical unit in most clauses, I will not go into a detailed analysis – the table below should suffice.

Clause	2	3	4	5	6
Greek (number of syllables per unit)	2, 2, 5, 4, 3, 3	3, 2, 4, 3	3+3, 4, 5, 4	4, 5, 4	4, 3, 3, 2, 5
OCS (number of syllables per unit)	2, 3, 4, 4, 2, 5	3, 2, 4, 2	4+2, 5, 4, 5	4, 5, 7	4, 2, 3, 2, 4

Clause	7	8	9
Greek (number of syllables per unit)	4, 2, 5, 4, 4	6, 5, 3, 4	2+4, 4, 4, 4
OCS (number of syllables per unit)	4, 2, 4, 2, 2	6, 4, 3, 5	4, 4, 5, 4

What is particularly interesting in this passage are the discrepancies between the Greek and OCS rather than the similarities. The word order in the translation of clauses seven and eight has been inverted for seemingly no reason, since both languages are inflected and allow a great degree of freedom. Thus *συντείνατε τοίνυν*

[430] Text and translation can be found on p. 85.

τὰς ὑμετέρας διανοίας παρακαλῶ, "apply, therefore, your minds, I beg you," has been rendered into OCS as распрострѣте оубо молѧ вы сѧ ваша оумы, "apply, therefore, I beg you, your minds." There is no explanation for this change in word order, expecially given the strict literalness of the rest of the translation. However, if we compare the length of rhythmical units, it seems that the amended OCS version achieves a more regular distribution than the literal version would have achieved: Greek has 4, 2, 5, 4, 4; in OCS we get 4, 2, 4, 2, 2 – as opposed to 4, 2, 2, 2, 4, which would have been the order had the clause been translated literally. Likewise, clause eight renders the Greek *καὶ μετὰ γαλήνης τῶν εὐτελῶν μου ῥημάτων ἀνάσχεσθε*, "and endure with peace my humble words," with и̑ сь тнхостнѭ прнѝмѣте хоудаѧ моꙗ словеса, "and with peace endure my humble words." The actual OCS translation achieves a better balance than the literal translation would have: Greek shows 6, 5, 3, 4 –syllable units and OCS has 6, 4, 3, 5 – as opposed to the literal 6, 3, 5, 4 –syllable units.

As a point of reference, I am listing below the breakdown of ten consecutive clauses from a randomly chosen passage of one of my control texts, *Vita Cononi*. Since the passage is part of a very long vita, which could not possibly have been read out loud during the services – or, at any rate, performed in the way the homily was performed – its different rhythm (or lack of rhythm) can be used as a background to set off the uniqueness of oratorical rhythm.[431]

[431] Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik*, vol. 2, 42 (lines 14-29).

Clause	1	2	3	4	5
Greek (number of syllables per unit)	5, 2, 2, 7, 2, 5	2, 2, 5, 6	4	3, 2, 2, 2, 3	3, 4, 2, 3, 2, 2, 3, 4, 3
OCS (number of syllables per unit)	2, -- 6, 4, 5, 4, 2	3, 5, 4, 8	7	4, 4, -- 7	8, -- 3, -- 4, 2, 5, 4, 4

Clause	6	7	8
Greek (number of syllables per unit)	4, 2, 2, 2, 3, 4	4, 3, 3, 7, 6, 6, 5, 3, 5, 4	4, 2, 3, 4, 4, 4,
OCS (number of syllables per unit)	3, 2, 2, -- 4	3, 3, 3, 7, 2, 5, 4, 3, 6, 3	4, 2, 5, 4

Clause	9	10
Greek (number of syllables per unit)	3, 3, 7, 3, 7, 4, 5, 2	6, 8, 3, 4, 2, 2
OCS (number of syllables per unit)	4, -- 5, 4, 5, 2, 3, 3	3, 6, 5, 4, 4, 5, 3

Not only does the distribution of rhythmical units in the Greek vita differ quite substantially from the OCS translation, but also the translation is handled more freely than that of the homilies.

The point that I have been making so far is that the Slavic translators have attempted to render not only the total number of syllables and stresses per line, but also to retain the same syllable numbers in each rhythmical unit, that is, to achieve a more or less similar distribution of units per clause as in the Greek. Does that mean that they attempted to convey the stress patterns of the originals as well? Or – as someone may argue – did they simply keep to the same number of syllables? This is, unfortunately, an objection that can be neither proved nor disproved. Since I have been able to match texts in the two languages not only clause for clause, but also rhythmical unit for rhythmical unit, it seems reasonable to conclude that the translators sought similarities in rhythmical distribution as well. In the absence of a

dependable reconstruction of stresses in the OCS dialect of the Suprasliensis, however, all conclusions are only tentative. Nevertheless, they merit further consideration.

Although not fully conclusive, the results of my study do suggest that rhythm was considered such an important part of oratory that the Slavic translators attempted to render linguistically "foreign" cadences in their own translations. In other words, rhythm was perceived as an indelible part of the meaning of a homiletic text, and if – as St. Cyril reflects – one needs to translate according to the meaning (ѹмъ) rather than the letter, then clearly one has to acknowledge the pulse of the thought and the beat of its phonetic patterns. One may raise the objection here that the rhythms "translated" from Greek into OCS were probably not native to the Slavic ear, so the translators' project was perhaps painstakingly conscientious but futile. The question of whether the translations sounded "natural" to the Slavs or not is, actually, very interesting and would require an in-depth comparative study of the early OCS translations (that is, from the ninth and tenth centuries) and the translations from the middle period of South Slavic literature (that is, the thirteenth through early fifteenth centuries), when, presumably, the Slavs developed a body of literature characterized by a distinct voice and style. It may very well turn out that both Slavs and Greeks shared a common appreciation for the same type of rhythms.

Much work remains to be done on the subject, of course, and the best place to start would perhaps be the intersection of rhythms used in oratory and those used in

music. The Hellenistic and late antique rhetoricians often bring up music in their discussions of style. Hermogenes' remark on the opinions of the musicians, for example, is worth quoting in full:

> Musicians, in fact, would probably argue that [rhythm is] more important than the thought itself. They will say that rhythm in and of itself, even without any meaningful speech, is more effective than style. And suitable rhythms, they say, can please the soul more than any panegyrical speech, or cause it more pain than any rhetorical appeal to pity, or stir up our spirits more than any vehement or violent speech… Put rhythm first or last in importance or in the middle, as you wish. I shall be content to show that rhythms are appropriate to each type of style and to what extent rhythm can be applied to prose without turning it into song… My feeling is that rhythm does sometimes contribute a great deal to the production of one style or another, but not as much as the musicians say.[432]

Hermogenes distances himself from the idea that rhythm alone can be more powerful than speech (he is a rhetorician, after all), but he reports the musicians' opinions in the context of assigning ranks of importance to the main components of an oration. First, he says, comes the thought, then diction, then figures of speech and of thought. When he gets to rhythm, he hesitates whether to rank it first or last or in the middle, since any of the above by themselves are nothing, but together, and especially when

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[432] Trans. Cecil W. Wooten (*Hermogenes' On Types of Style* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 6 = Rabe, *Hermogenis opera,* 223): *καὶ τάχα ἂν ἡμῖν παῖδες μουσικῶν ἀμφισβητήσειαν, εἰ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐννοίας θετέον αὐτά· δύνασθαι γὰρ φήσουσι τὸν ῥυθμὸν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν χωρὶς ὅλως ἐνάρθρου φωνῆς, ἡλίκα οὐδεμία λόγων ἰδέα· καὶ γὰρ ἡδίους ποιῆσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα πανηγυρικὸν λόγον εἶναί φασι τοὺς ῥυθμούς ἐπιτηδείους καὶ τοὐναντίον αὖ λυπηράς, ὡς οὐδεμία ἐλεεινολογία, δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ θυμὸν κινῆσαι μειζόνως ἢ πάντα σφοδρὸν καὶ καταφορικὸν λόγον … ἔστω μέν, εἰ βούλοιτό τις, πρῶτον, εἰ δὲ βούλοιτο, τελευταῖον ἢ μέσον τῇ δυνάμει τῶν προειρημένων ὁ ῥυθμός. ἐγὼ δέ, ὁποῖοί τινές εἰσιν ἑκάστης ἰδέας οἰκεῖοι, καθ' ὅσον ἐγχωρεῖ λέξει πεζῇ χωρὶς τοῦ περιᾴδειν προσαρμόσαι τινὰ ῥυθμόν, τοῦτο δείξειν φημί … φημὶ γάρ· ἔστι μὲν οὖ καὶ ὁ ῥυθμὸς πολὺ συνεισήνεγκε τῷ τοιόνδε γίνεσθαι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοιόνδε, οὐ μὴν τοσοῦτόν γε, ὁπόσον ἐκεῖνοί φασι.*

combined with rhythm, they can have a "tremendous impact."[433] Note that Hermogenes seems to bring up the musicians' opinions not for the sake of contrast, but simply to note a more "extreme" view on the matter, but he does not distinguish the rhythms of music from those of oratory. And if music can be so powerful, then oratory can be as well. Therefore, further study of the rhythms – and not just melody movements (which seem to have been of primary concern for musicologists) – of ancient and Byzantine music can help illuminate questions of audience response to certain cadences in both prose and poetry.

Another issue for further study is the relationship between rhythm and figures of speech. My own observations so far have led me to think that they stand in alternation; in other words, certain figures of speech are perceived as so rhythmical that no accentual cadence is attached to them; sometimes the rhythm of the figures stands in contrast to what comes before or after them. In his study on the style and rhythm of Gregory of Nyssa, Christoph Klock reaches a similar conclusion: the *cursus* is considered superfluous in the presence of certain figures.[434] Perhaps this was done in order to avoid "turning the speech into a song," or perhaps in order to set off the figure from the rest and draw attention to it. In either case, it is useful to keep Hermogenes' opinion in mind: rhythm results from word order and cadence just as a house or a ship is built with wood or stone, but it is separate from them, just as the

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[433] *Ibid.*, trans. Wooten.

[434] Klock, *Gregor von Nyssa*, 219-39.

shape of the house or the ship is different from the manner of putting these together.[435] In other words, the effect of the whole is only appreciated in the togetherness of all its parts – and therefore, the relationship between figures and cadence can only be appreciated in the context of the whole oration – because rhythm is the *movement* of the oration through time and the experience of that movement by the listener. As Siceliotes' extended simile has it, if the thought is the soul of a body, the form of diction is the shape of that body, and composition is the harmony of its bones, then "rhythm is … the kind of movement of that body."[436]

Clearly then, if rhythm permeates every part of the discourse, as Hermogenes and Siceliotes would have it, and if its presence or absence is intimately connected with the desired effect, then it would also function as something of a *topos* of invention. In his discussion on rapidity (*gorgotês*), for example, Hermogenes notes that there is no particular type of idea that would produce a rapid effect in itself – it is, rather, the figures, the types of clauses, and the cadences used. Rapid questions, direct address (*apostrophe*), frequent, short interweavings (*symplokai*), frequent, slight variations (*exallagê*), and quick cadences will produce a rapidly running thought.[437] Here, as well as in the treatise *On Invention*, style and rhythm are treated as something driving invention rather than simply embellishing an idea – the idea is built up and developed through the choice of figures and the choice of words. An

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[435] Rabe, *Hermogenis opera*, 270; trans. Wooten, *On Types of Style*, 4.

[436] See Chapter 2, 111.

investigation of style and rhythm from this perspective would have implications not only for rhetorical theory and the way we see the history of rhetoric, but for our own pedagogical practices as well. It would also prompt us to revisit the enormous number of ancient and medieval treatises on style and figures, and perhaps fruitfully appropriate some of their attitudes in our classrooms.

[437] Rabe, *Hermogenis opera*, 312-20 (trans. Wooten, *On Types of Style*, 65-70).

Appendix

The *Appendix* contains statistics for the five homilies used as a basis for rhythm-related arguments: 1) (pseudo-) Chrysostom's *Homily on the Saturday of Lazarus*, 2) *Homily on Palm Sunday*, 3) *Homily on Great and Holy Pascha*, 4) Proclus' *Homily on the Sunday of Thomas*, and 5) Epiphanius' *Homily on the Entombment of Christ and Descent into Hades*; it also contains statistics for the three control texts: *The Life of St. Conon the Isaurian*, John the Exarch's translations *The Hexaemeron* and *De fide orthodoxa*. The figures have been rounded to the nearest decimal. If the number of clauses for the syllable and stress counts of the same chapter differs, it is because I have omitted from counting clauses for which I have not been able to determine with certainty the exact number of syllables or stresses.

The *Appendix* also contains sample flow charts for the beginnings of three homilies: (pseudo-) Chrysostom's *On Palm Sunday*, Proclus' *On the Sunday of Thomas*, and Epiphanius' *On the Entombment and Descent into Hades*, as well as a chart for an excerpt from the *Life of St. Conon* and from *De fide orthodoxa*. The charts are meant to provide a visual aid to the comparison of the syllable and stress flow of the Greek texts and their OCS counterparts as well as the control texts. Each chart is limited to 25-29 clauses.

The last two pages present a breakdown of the time it takes to perform one paragraph from Proclus' homily in Greek and in OCS, clause by clause. By

paragraph I mean an excerpt marked off by the diamond-shaped punctuation sign (⁘). The total reading time for the paragraph is not a mechanical sum of reading times for the smaller units, but the actual performance time.

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *HOMILY ON THE SATURDAY OF LAZARUS* (SPURIOUS)

Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik*, Chapter 27 (*incipit: ὥσπερ μήτηρ φιλότεκνος ἐπιδοῦσα τὴν θηλὴν τῷ νηπιῷ τέρπεται*). Greek text supplied from *Patrologiae Graecae* 62: 775-78. The homily is listed by J. A. de Aldama in *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum* (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherché scientifique, 1965), 210.

A. Syllables:

Total number of counted clauses:	204
Clauses differing with 0 syllables:	35 (≈ 17.2%)
Clauses differing with 1 syllable:	66 (≈ 32.4%)
Clauses differing with 0 to 1 syllables:	101 (≈ 49.5%)
Clauses differing with 2 syllables:	51 (≈ 25.0%)
Clauses differing with 3 syllables:	20 (≈ 9.8%)
Clauses differing with 4 or more syllables:	32 (≈ 15.7%)

Average syllable deviation: strict ≈ 1.89, approximate ≈ 1.57 syllables per clause

B. Stresses:

Total number of counted clauses:	195
Clauses differing with 0 stresses:	154 (≈ 79.0%)
Clauses differing with 1 or more stresses:	41 (≈ 21.1%)

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *HOMILY ON PALM SUNDAY* (SPURIOUS)

Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik,* Chapter 28 (*incipit: ἐκ θαυμάτων ἐπὶ τὰ θαύματα τοῦ κυρίου βαδίσωμεν, ἀδελφοί*). Greek text supplied from Escorial cod. gr. 239, ff. 232v – 241r, ninth century (corresponds to *PG* 59: 703-708). The homily is listed by J. A. de Aldama in the *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum*, 39.

A. Syllables:

Total number of counted clauses:	447
Clauses differing with 0 syllables:	75 (≈ 16.8%)
Clauses differing with 1 syllable:	137 (≈ 30.7%)
Clauses differing with 0 to 1 syllables:	212 (≈ 47.4%)
Clauses differing with 2 syllables:	97 (≈ 21.7%)
Clauses differing with 3 syllables:	65 (≈ 14.5%)
Clauses differing with 4 or more syllables:	73 (≈ 16.3%)

Average syllable deviation: strict ≈ 1.90, approximate ≈ 1.59 syllables per clause

B. Stresses:

Total number of counted clauses:	407
Clauses differing with 0 stresses:	337 (≈ 82.8%)
Clauses differing with 1 or more stresses:	70 (≈ 17.2%)

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *HOMILY ON GREAT AND HOLY PASCHA* (SPURIOUS)

Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik,* Chapter 42 (*incipit: χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ πάντοτε, ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοί*). Greek text supplied from PG 50: 821-24. . The homily is listed by J. A. de Aldama in the *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum* (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherché scientifique, 1965), 204.

A. Syllables:

Total number of counted clauses:	261
Clauses differing with 0 syllables:	48 (≈ 18.4%)
Clauses differing with 1 syllable:	90 (≈ 34.5%)
Clauses differing with 0 to 1 syllables:	138 (≈ 52.9%)
Clauses differing with 2 syllables:	50 (≈ 19.2%)
Clauses differing with 3 syllables:	32 (≈ 12.3%)
Clauses differing with 4 or more syllables:	41 (≈ 15.7%)

Average syllable deviation: strict ≈ 1.73, approximate ≈ 1.47 syllables per clause

B. Stresses:

Total number of counted clauses:	233
Clauses differing with 0 stresses:	181 (≈ 77.7%)
Clauses differing with 1 or more stresses:	52 (≈ 22.3%)

ST. PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *HOMILY ON THE SUNDAY OF THOMAS*

Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik,* Chapter 44 (*incipit: ἦκω τὸ χρέος ἀποδώσων ὑμῖν*). The homily is traditionally attributed to Chrysostom. The Greek text is supplied from F. J. Leroy, *L'homiletique de Proclus de Constantinople: tradition manuscrite, inédits, études, connexes* (Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1967), 237-51.

A. Syllables:

Total number of counted clauses:	315
Clauses differing with 0 syllables:	53 (≈ 16.8%)
Clauses differing with 1 syllable:	102 (≈ 32.4%)
Clauses differing with 0 to 1 syllables:	155 (≈ 49.2%)
Clauses differing with 2 syllables:	76 (≈ 24.1%)
Clauses differing with 3 syllables:	39 (≈ 12.4%)
Clauses differing with 4 or more syllables:	45 (≈ 14.3%)

Average syllable deviation: strict ≈ 1.95, approximate ≈ 1.63 syllables per clause

B. Stresses:

Total number of counted clauses:	325
Clauses differing with 0 stresses:	217 (≈ 66.8%)
Clauses differing with 1 or more stresses:	108 (≈ 33.2%)

EPIPHANIUS OF CYPRUS, *ENTOMBMENT OF CHRIST AND DESCENT INTO HADES**

Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik,* Chapter 40 (*incipit: τὶ τοῦτο; σήμερον σιγὴ πολλὴ ἐν τῇ γῇ*). Greek text supplied from G. Dindorf, *Epiphanii episcopi Constantiae opera*, vol. 2, bk. IV (Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1859-62), 2-29 and 90-101.

A. Syllables:

Total number of counted clauses:	321
Clauses differing with 0 syllables:	56 (≈ 17.5%)
Clauses differing with 1 syllable:	102 (≈ 31.8%)
Clauses differing with 0 to 1 syllables:	158 (≈ 49.2%)
Clauses differing with 2 syllables:	75 (≈ 23.4%)
Clauses differing with 3 syllables:	51 (≈ 16.0%)
Clauses differing with 4 or more syllables:	37 (≈ 11.5%)

Average syllable deviation: strict ≈ 1.83, approximate ≈ 1.51 syllables per clause

B. Stresses:

Total number of counted clauses:	317
Clauses differing with 0 stresses:	277 (≈ 87.4%)
Clauses differing with 1 or more stresses:	40 (≈ 12.6%)

* The above figures represent only about half of the clauses in this homily.

JOHN THE EXARCH, *HEXAEMERON* (COMPILATION)*

R. Aitzetmüller, *Das* Hexaemeron *des Exarchen Johannes*, (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1958), vol. 1, 10-32. Greek text supplied from *PG* 83: 916-920 (Theodoret of Cyrus).

A. Syllables:

Total number of counted clauses:	103
Clauses differing with 0 syllables:	18 (≈ 17.5%)
Clauses differing with 1 syllable:	20 (≈ 19.4%)
Clauses differing with 0 to 1 syllables:	38 (≈ 37.0%)
Clauses differing with 2 syllables:	22 (≈ 21.4%)
Clauses differing with 3 syllables:	11 (≈ 10.7%)
Clauses differing with 4 or more syllables:	32 (≈ 31.1%)

Average syllable deviation: strict ≈ 2.77, approximate ≈ 2.57 syllables per clause

B. Stresses:

Total number of counted clauses:	101
Clauses differing with 0 stresses:	54 (≈ 53.5%)
Clauses differing with 1 or more stresses:	47 (≈ 46.5%)

* Only parts of the text have been sampled.

JOHN THE EXARCH, *DE FIDE ORTHODOXA* BY ST. JOHN OF DAMASCUS*

L. Sadnik, ed. *Des hl. Johannes von Damascus Ἔκθεσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως in der Übersetzung des Exarchen Johannes* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), 28-44. Greek text supplied from *PG* 789:19.

A. Syllables:

Total number of counted clauses:	100
Clauses differing with 0 syllables:	13 (≈ 13.0%)
Clauses differing with 1 syllable:	28 (≈ 28.0%)
Clauses differing with 0 to 1 syllables:	41 (≈ 41.0%)
Clauses differing with 2 syllables:	20 (≈ 20.0%)
Clauses differing with 3 syllables:	16 (≈ 16.0%)
Clauses differing with 4 or more syllables:	23 (≈ 23.0%)

Average syllable deviation: strict ≈ 2.50, approximate ≈ 2.22 syllables per clause

B. Stresses:

Total number of counted clauses:	97
Clauses differing with 0 stresses:	48 (≈ 49.5%)
Clauses differing with 1 or more stresses:	49 (≈ 50.5%)

* Only parts of the text have been sampled.

LIFE OF ST. KONON THE ISAURIAN*

Zaimov and Capaldo, *Suprasulski sbornik*, Chapter 3. Greek text supplied from R. Trautmann and R. Klostermann, „Drei griechische Texte zum Codex Suprasliensis. Teil II: Das Martyrium von Konon“ (*Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 11 (1934): 299-324).

A. Syllables:

Total number of counted clauses:	103	
Clauses differing with 0 syllables:	17	(≈ 16.5%)
Clauses differing with 1 syllable:	18	(≈ 17.5%)
Clauses differing with 0 to 1 syllables:	35	(≈ 34.0%)
Clauses differing with 2 syllables:	23	(≈ 22.3%)
Clauses differing with 3 syllables:	13	(≈ 12.6%)
Clauses differing with 4 or more syllables:	32	(≈ 31.1%)

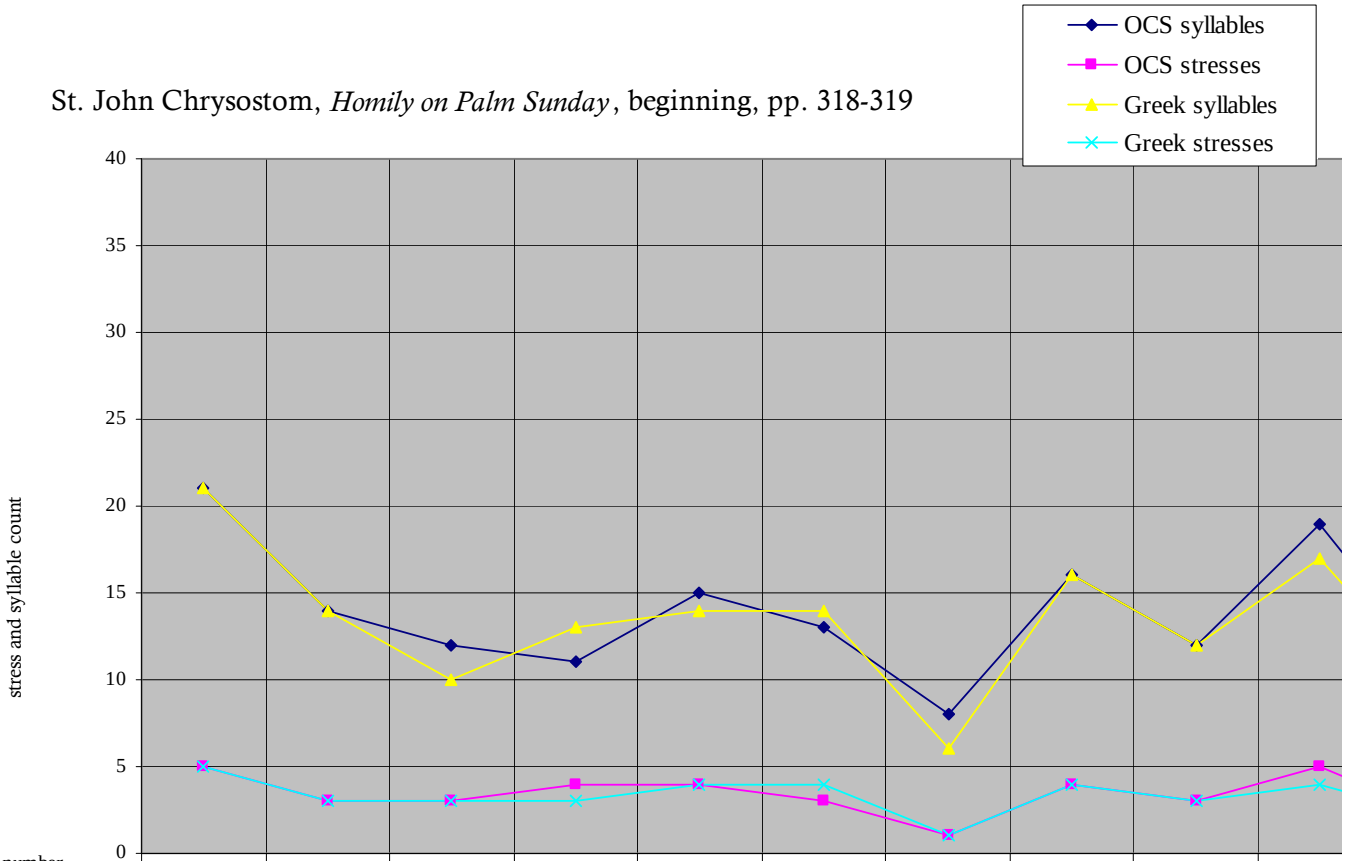
Average syllable deviation: strict ≈ 2.81, approximate ≈ 2.63 syllables per clause

B. Stresses:

Total number of counted clauses:	90	
Clauses differing with 0 stresses:	52	(≈ 57.8%)
Clauses differing with 1 or more stresses:	38	(≈ 42.2%)

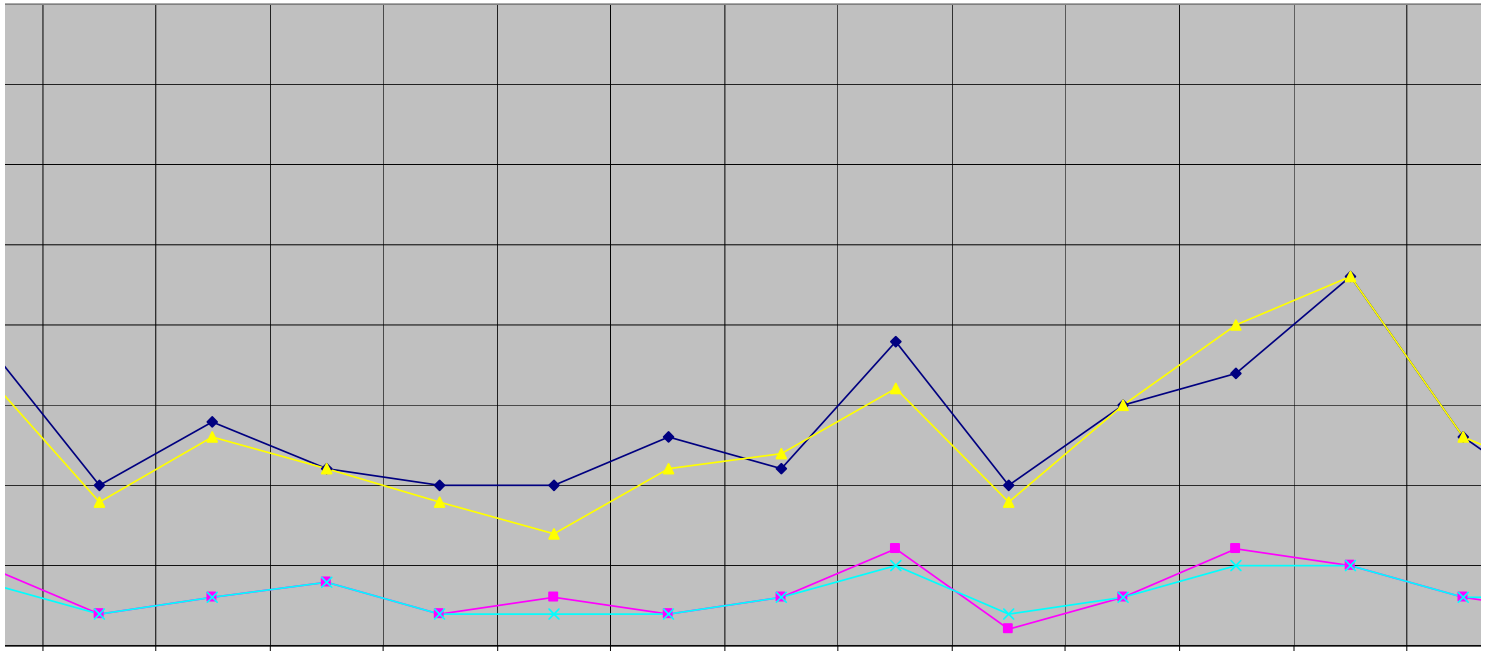
* Only parts of the text have been sampled.

St. John Chrysostom, *Homily on Palm Sunday*, beginning, pp. 318-319



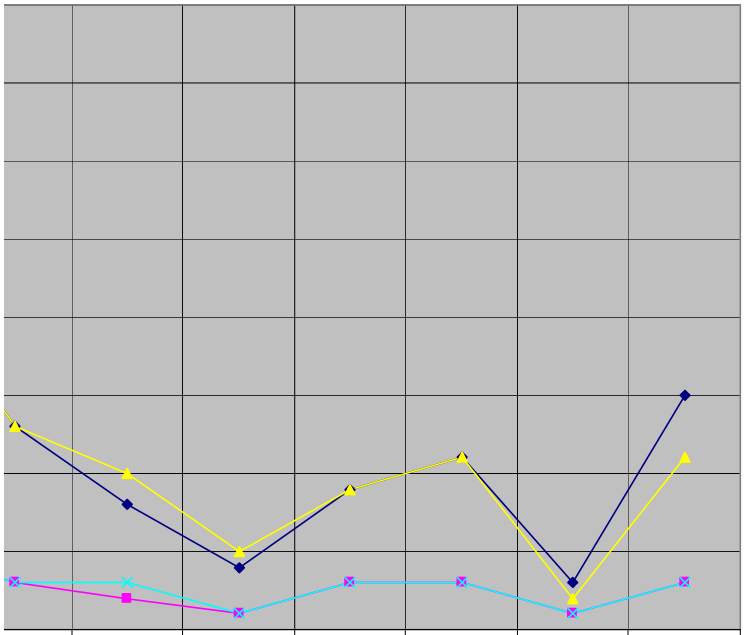
line number	12-13	13-14	14-15	15-16	16-17	17-18	18	19	20	20-22
OCS syllables	21	14	12	11	15	13	8	16	12	19
OCS stresses	5	3	3	4	4	3	1	4	3	5
Greek syllables	21	14	10	13	14	14	6	16	12	17
Greek stresses	5	3	3	3	4	4	1	4	3	4

Palm Sunday, cont.



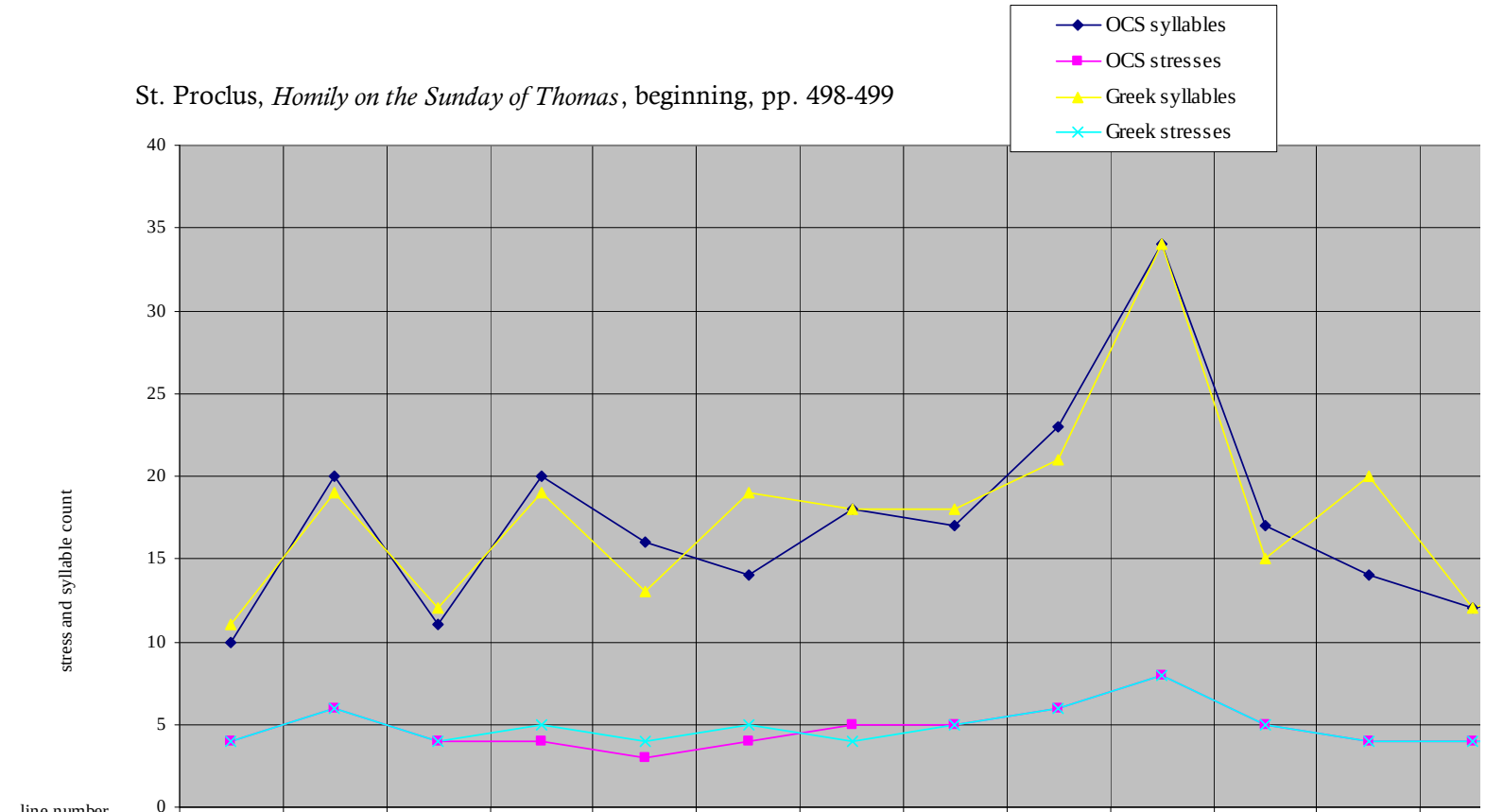
	22-23	23-24	24	25	25-26	27-28	28-29	29-30	30	1	2-3	3-4	4-5
	10	14	11	10	10	13	11	19	10	15	17	23	13
	2	3	4	2	3	2	3	6	1	3	6	5	3
	9	13	11	9	7	11	12	16	9	15	20	23	13
	2	3	4	2	2	2	3	5	2	3	5	5	3

Palm Sunday, cont.

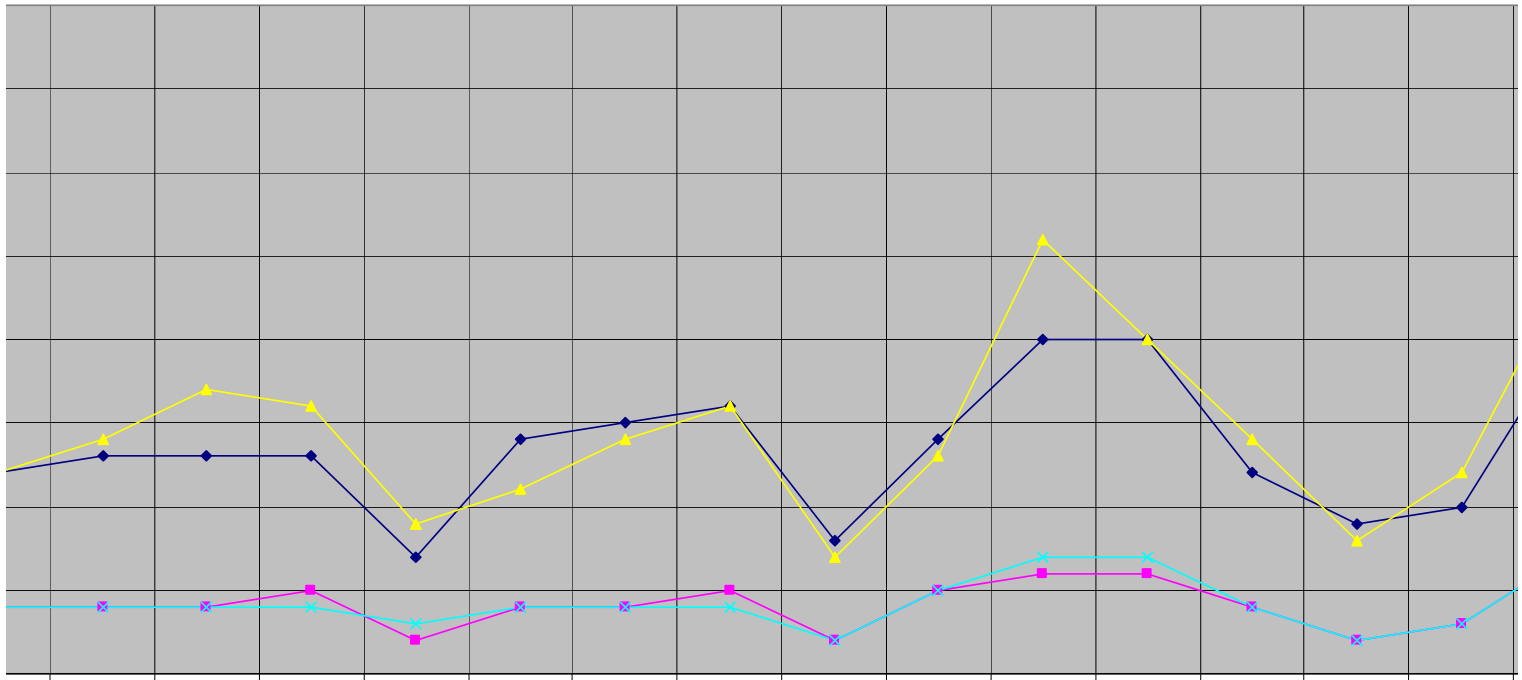


4-5	5-6	6	6-7	7	7	8-9
13	8	4	9	11	3	15
3	2	1	3	3	1	3
13	10	5	9	11	2	11
3	3	1	3	3	1	3

St. Proclus, *Homily on the Sunday of Thomas*, beginning, pp. 498-499

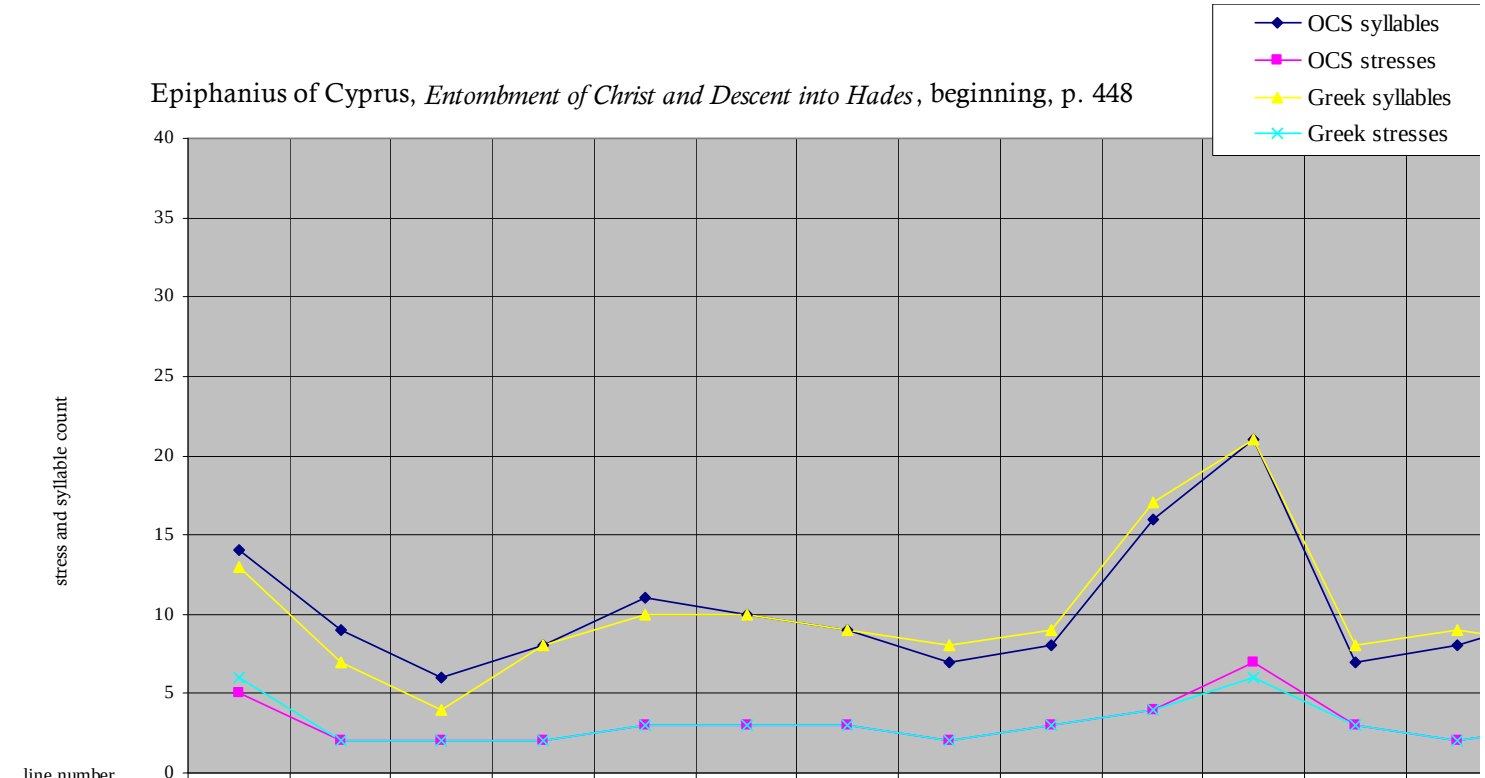


line number	14	14-15	15-16	16-17	17-18	19-20	20-21	21-22	22-24	24-26	26-27	27-28	28-2
OCS syllables	10	20	11	20	16	14	18	17	23	34	17	14	12
OCS stresses	4	6	4	4	3	4	5	5	6	8	5	4	4
Greek syllables	11	19	12	19	13	19	18	18	21	34	15	20	12
Greek stresses	4	6	4	5	4	5	4	5	6	8	5	4	4



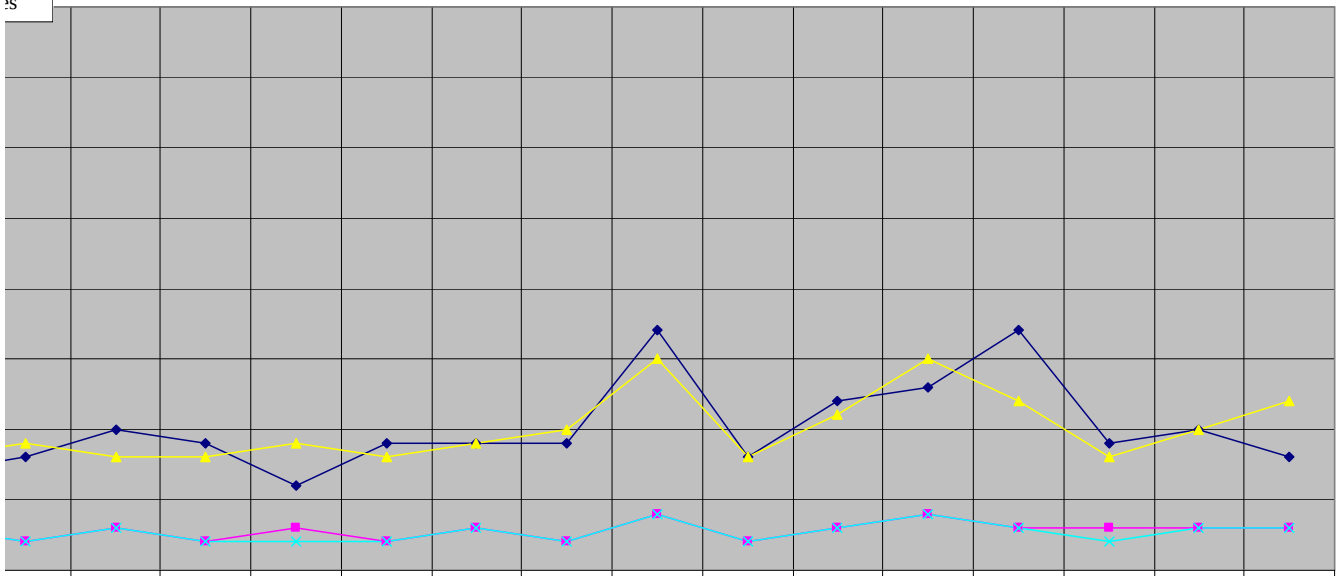
?9	29	30	30-1	1	2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5	6-7	7-8	8-9	9	9-10
	13	13	13	7	14	15	16	8	14	20	20	12	9	10
	4	4	5	2	4	4	5	2	5	6	6	4	2	3
	14	17	16	9	11	14	16	7	13	26	20	14	8	12
	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	2	5	7	7	4	2	3

Epiphanius of Cyprus, *Entombment of Christ and Descent into Hades*, beginning, p. 448



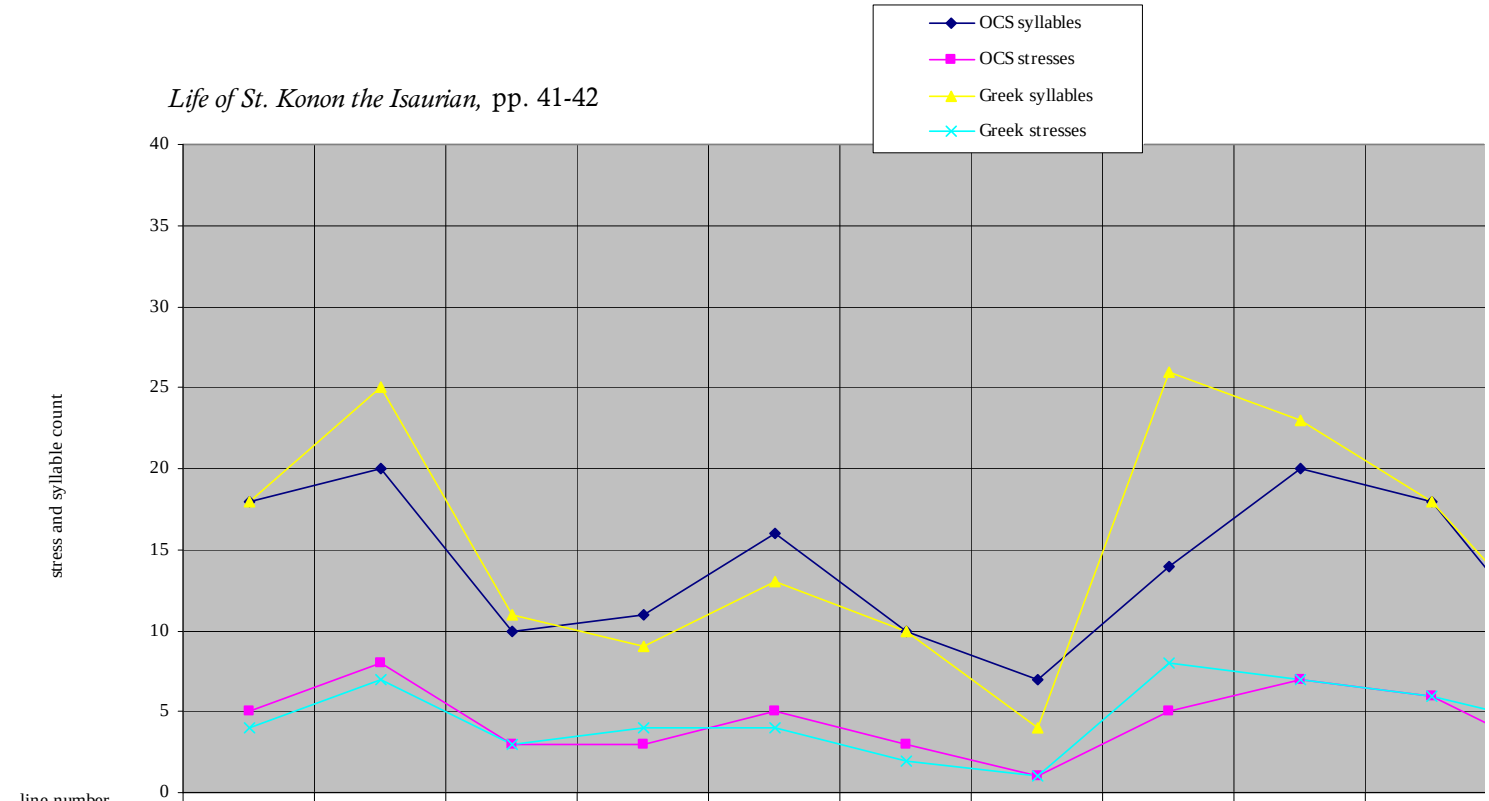
line number	2	3	4	4	4-5	5-6	6	6	7	7-8	8-9	10-11	11
OCS syllables	14	9	6	8	11	10	9	7	8	16	21	7	8
OCS stresses	5	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	3	4	7	3	2
Greek syllables	13	7	4	8	10	10	9	8	9	17	21	8	9
Greek stresses	6	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	3	4	6	3	2

*Entombmen*t, cont.



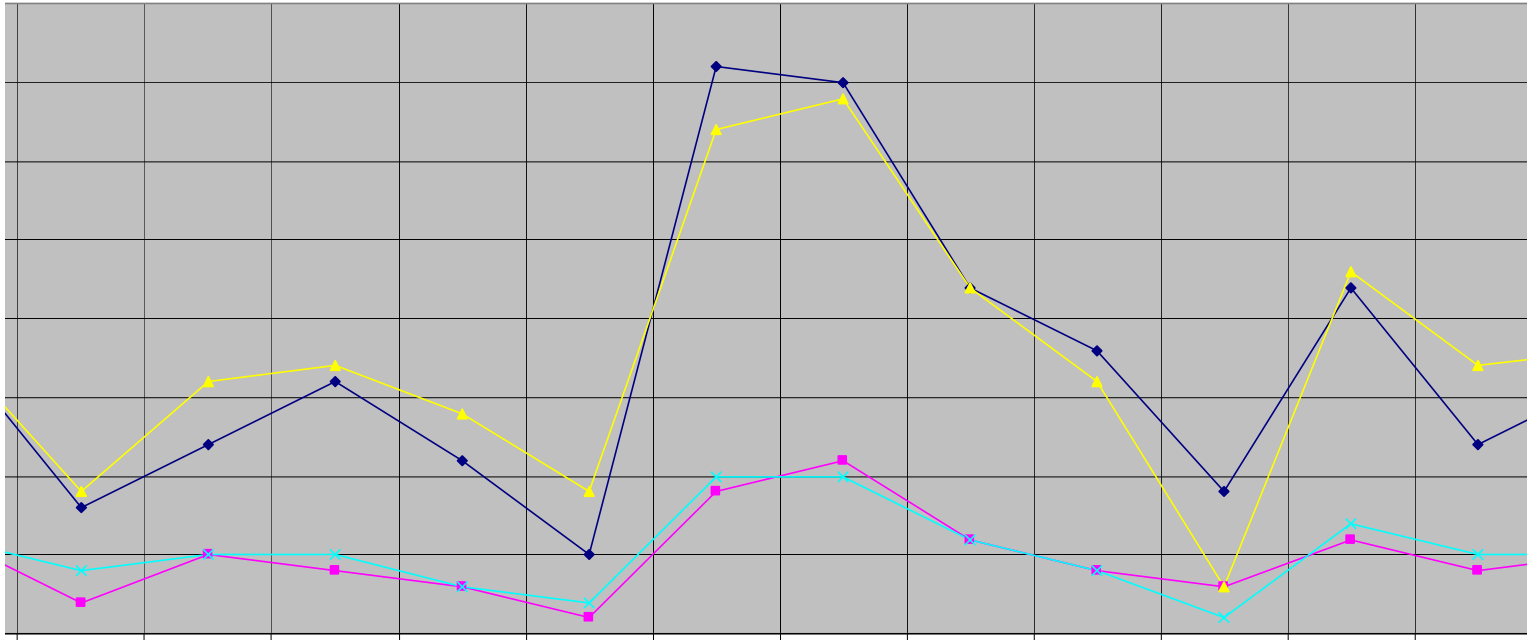
11	11	12	12	13	13-14	14	16-17	17-18	18-19	19-20	20-21	21	21-22	22-23
8	10	9	6	9	9	9	17	8	12	13	17	9	10	8
2	3	2	3	2	3	2	4	2	3	4	3	3	3	3
9	8	8	9	8	9	10	15	8	11	15	12	8	10	12
2	3	2	2	2	3	2	4	2	3	4	3	2	3	3

Life of St. Konon the Isaurian, pp. 41-42



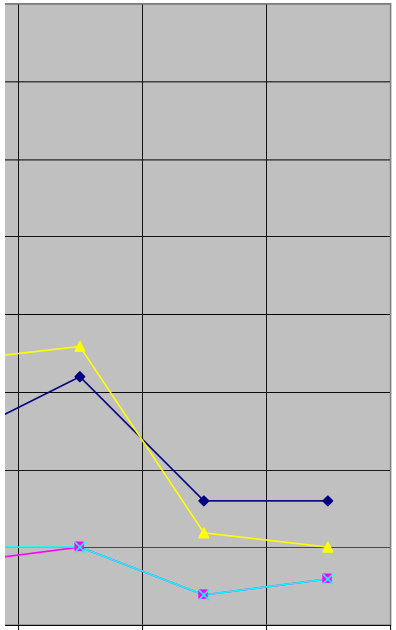
line number	3-4	4-6	6-7	7-8	8-9	9	10	10-11	11-13	13-14
OCS syllables	18	20	10	11	16	10	7	14	20	18
OCS stresses	5	8	3	3	5	3	1	5	7	6
Greek syllables	18	25	11	9	13	10	4	26	23	18
Greek stresses	4	7	3	4	4	2	1	8	7	6

St. Konon, cont.



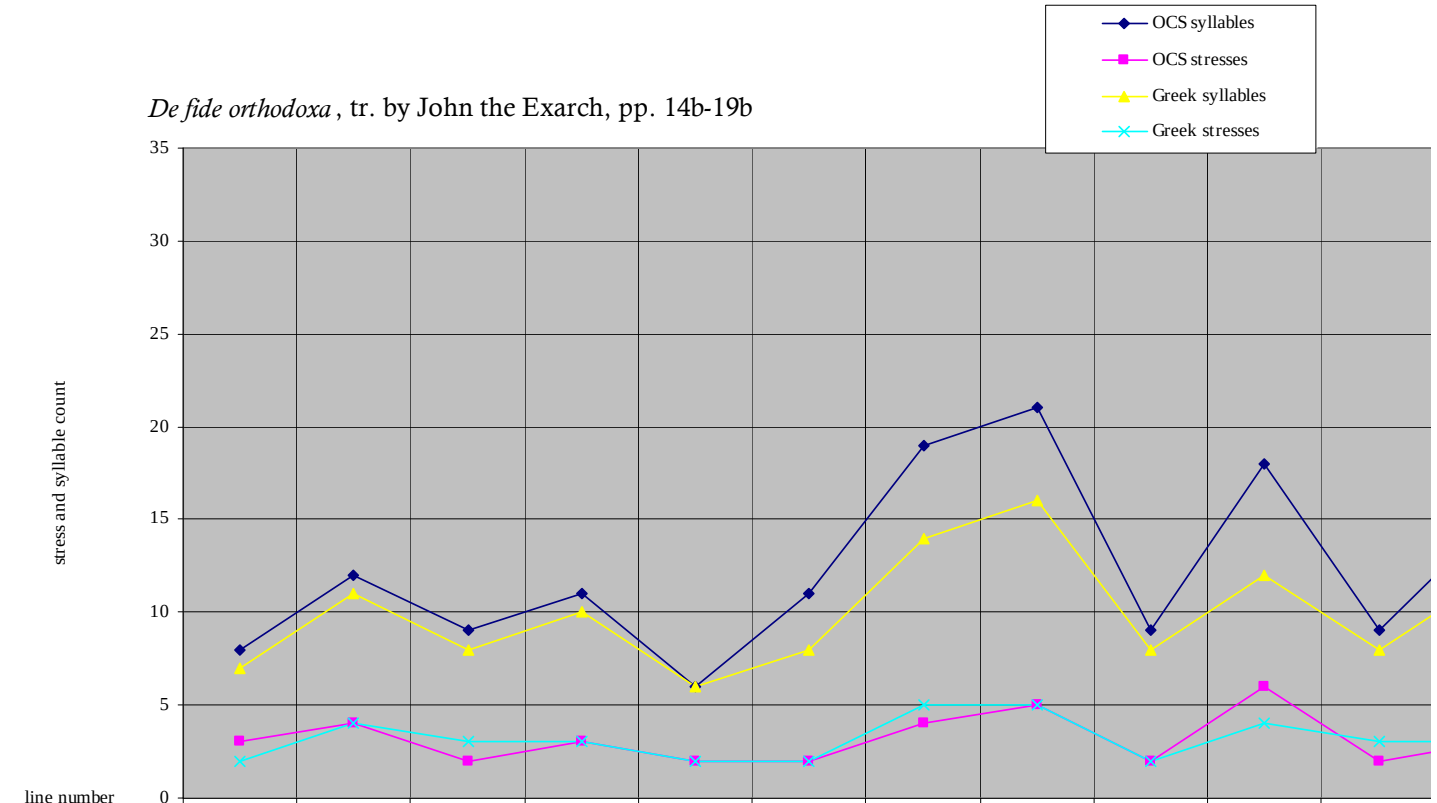
14-15	15	16	17	17	18-20	20-22	22-24	24-25	25-26	26-27	27-28
8	12	16	11	5	36	35	22	18	9	22	12
2	5	4	3	1	9	11	6	4	3	6	4
9	16	17	14	9	32	34	22	16	3	23	17
4	5	5	3	2	10	10	6	4	1	7	5

St. Konon, cont.



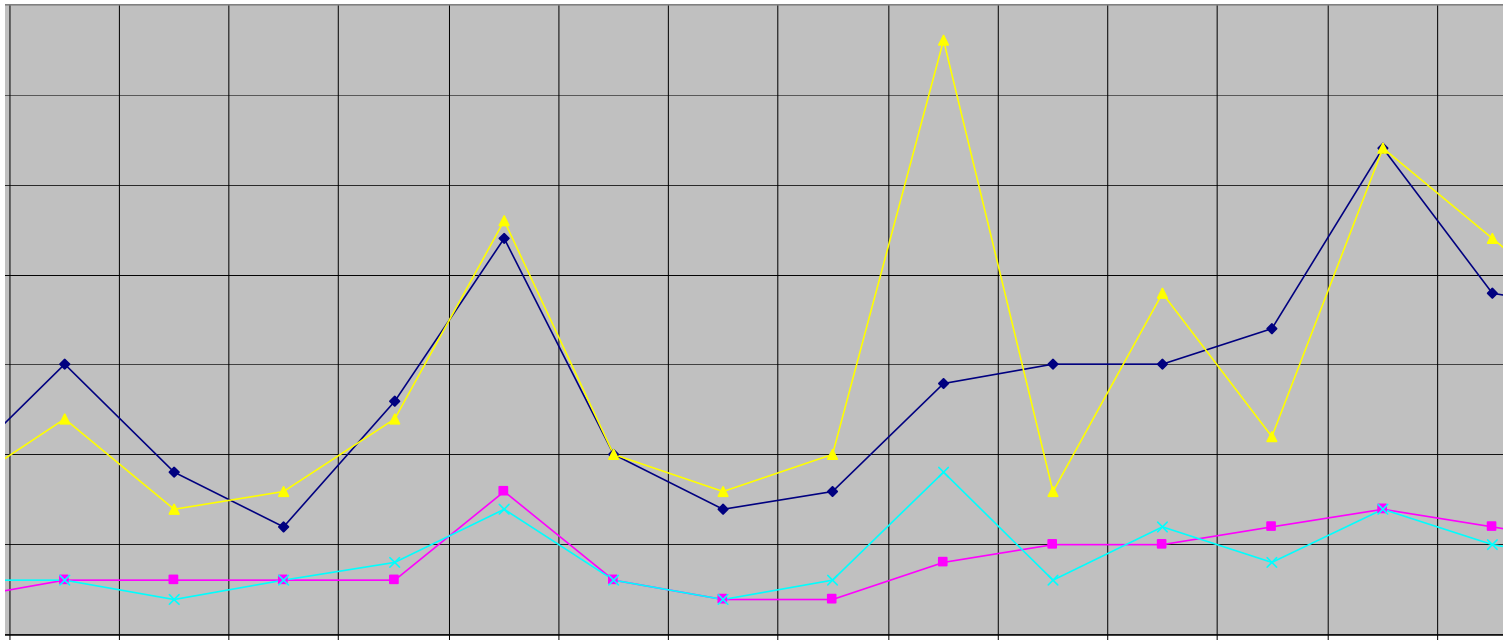
	28-29	29-1	1
	16	8	8
	5	2	3
	18	6	5
	5	2	3

De fide orthodoxa , tr. by John the Exarch, pp. 14b-19b

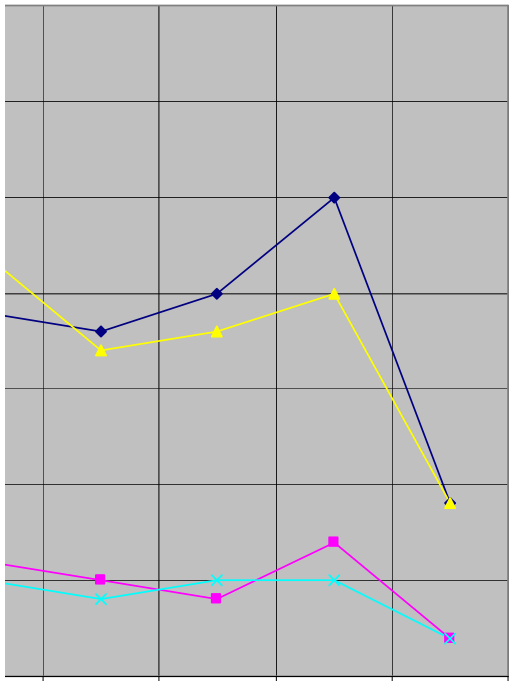


line number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
OCS syllables	8	12	9	11	6	11	19	21	9	18	9
OCS stresses	3	4	2	3	2	2	4	5	2	6	2
Greek syllables	7	11	8	10	6	8	14	16	8	12	8
Greek stresses	2	4	3	3	2	2	5	5	2	4	3

De fide, cont.



12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
15	9	6	13	22	10	7	8	14	15	15	17	27	19
3	3	3	3	8	3	2	2	4	5	5	6	7	6
12	7	8	12	23	10	8	10	33	8	19	11	27	22
3	2	3	4	7	3	2	3	9	3	6	4	7	5



	26	27	28	29
	18	20	25	9
	5	4	7	2
	17	18	20	9
	4	5	5	2

CLAUSE LENGTH IN SECONDS: PROCLUS' HOMILY ON THE SUNDAY OF THOMAS

Page number, line number	OCS	Greek
498.14	3	3
498.14-15	6	6
498.15-16	3	4
498.16-17	5	5
498.17-18	4	4
498.19	6	6
498.19-20	5	5
498.20-21	4	4
498.21-22	5	6
498.22-24	7	6
498.24-26	10	10
498.27-28	5	5
498.28-29	4	4
498.29	4	4
498.30-(31)	4	5
499.1	3	3
499.2	5	4
499.2-3	5	5
499.3-4	6	6
499.4-5	2	2
499.5	3	3

Page, line number	OCS	Greek
499.6-7	6	7
499.7-8	6	6
499.8-9	4	4
499.9	3	3
499.9-10	3	4
499.10-11	5	7
499.13	2	3
499.13-14	5	4
499.14-15	5	5
499.15-17	10	10
499.17-18	3	2
499.18-19	7	5
499.19-20	3	3
499.20-21	4	5
499.21	3	2
499.21-22	5	4
499.22-23	7	7
499.23-24	5	5
499.24-25	7	6
499.26	5	5
499.26-27	4	4
499.27-28	4	3
499.28	3	3
499.28-29	4	3

Page, line number	OCS	Greek
499.29-30	3	3
499.26	5	5
499.30-500.1	2	3
500.1-2	5	5
500.2-3	4	3
500.3	2	2
500.3-4	3	2
500.4-5	5	5
500.5	4	3
500.5-6	3	3
500.6-7	3	3
500.7-8	4	3
500.8-9	6	6
500.9-10	5	5
500.10-11	4	4
500.11	2	2
500.13-15	8	8
500.15-16	5	4
500.16-17	5	3
500.17-18	6	5
500.18-19	5	4
If read continuously:	5 min 30 sec	5 min 23 sec

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